ELEMENTS
OF THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

VOL. III.

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ELEMENTS

OF THE

HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND,

FROM

The INVASION of the ROMANS

TO

The Reign of GEORGE the Second.

Tranſlated from the FRENCH of

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VOLUME THE THIRD.

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ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN the tranſlator publiſhed the two firſt volumes of this work, ſhe had ſome thoughts of prefixing to the third, ſome obſervations on hiſtory, which accidentally occurred to her in reading and reflecting on the ſubject: but, on beginning to methodize and arrange theſe obſervations, ſhe found they would unavoidably carry her much further than ſhe at firſt propoſed, and be either maimed, obſcure, and imperfect, or more prolix than the nature of this work allowed. She therefore changed her plan; and has endeavored to elucidate, by a greater number of notes than ſhe originally intended, an author, who merited ſhe ſhould give him all her attention. She flatters herſelf the reader will

agree with her, that this work, however ſuccinct, does not exhibit a mere dry relation of facts, a cold unintereſting narrative of battles and ſieges, but a faithful and animated picture of the human mind; that it is, in ſhort, what all hiſtory ought to be, "Philoſophy teaching by examples."

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[ELEMENTS

ELEMENTS OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

ELIZABETH.

THE rights of Elizabeth to the crown, founded on her birth, and the laſt will of her father, were the more eaſily acknowledged, as ſhe already poſſeſſed the eſteem and love of the nation. This princeſs, now twenty-five years old, paſſed in ſome ſort from a [a] priſon to the throne. A. D. 1558. Elizabeth mounts the throne.

[a] At the death of her ſiſter, Elizabeth reſided at Hatfield, attended by perſons who kept a ſtrict eye on her conduct.

The remembrance of her misfortunes gave an additional luſtre to her merit. Born with ſuperior talents, ſhe had acquired by ſtudy the important art of reigning, and found in herſelf all the reſources of genius, authority, and policy united. Her reign, though darkened by ſome ſpots, makes one of the moſt glorious periods of this hiſtory.

After having thanked heaven for her deliverance, as a miracle, ſhe ſeemed to forget all the injuſtice ſhe had experienced from her enemies. Even the perſon who had been intruſted with the care of her in priſon [b], and who had treated her with an extreme rigor, found her inſenſible to the deſire of vengeance. The ambitious Philip the ſecond loſt no time in making her propoſals of marriage. He flattered himſelf with being at length able to govern this kingdom, over which Mary, or, to ſpeak more properly, the parliament, had left him no authority. But the queen, not chuſing a maſter, and knowing beſides the averſion of the Engliſh to

[b] Sir Henry Bedingfield.

the

the Spaniſh alliance, eluded his offers without appearing to reject them. He ſolicited a diſpenſation from Rome, as if he had been certain the marriage would take place.

Though Elizabeth had a ſettled inclination to the Proteſtant faith, yet the Engliſh ambaſſador received orders to notify to the pope her acceſſion to the throne. Paul the fourth, in ſo critical a conjuncture, could not have acted with too much moderation and prudence. His inflexible haughtineſs plunged England again into ſchiſm. He declared, that this kingdom being a fief of the holy ſee, it was an extraordinary act of temerity in Elizabeth to aſſume, without his participation, the title of queen; that her illegitimacy excluded her the ſucceſſion; that he would never repeal the ſentence pronounced againſt her father's marriage with Anne Boleyn; but that, if ſhe would implore his pardon, and ſubmit herſelf to his diſcretion, he would ſhew her all the indulgence which was conſiſtent with the dignity of the head of the church. The queen, being informed of this reply, expreſſed in the ſtrongeſt terms

Conduct of the pope.

her aſtoniſhment at the loftineſs and indiſcretion of this pontiff. She recalled her ambaſſador, and applied herſelf ſeriouſly to the means of reeſtabliſhing a religion at declared enmity with the papacy. The violences of the laſt reign had diſpoſed the people to this new change. To make it leſs dangerous and more durable, far from imitating the precipitancy of Mary, ſhe weighed every intended ſtep with the utmoſt attention, and rendered ſucceſs infallible by the cautious regularity and wiſdom of her proceedings. After having introduced into the council a ſufficient number of Proteſtants to counter-balance thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion, ſhe releaſed from priſon, and recalled from exile, all thoſe whoſe only crime was their religion. A perſon having jeſtingly ſaid, There remained ſtill four priſoners to deliver, Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John. "We muſt begin," ſaid ſhe, "by conſulting themſelves, in order to know whether they deſire that liberty which you demand for them." The declamations of the preachers having awakened the ſpirit

Re-eſtabliſhment of Proteſtantiſm.

of enthuſiaſm, ſhe forbade preaching without a ſpecial licence, and prudently provided that neither the Proteſtants nor Catholics ſhould from their pulpits fan the fire of diſcord. Some innovations in the manner of performing divine ſervice followed theſe firſt ſteps. A part of the prayers were read in the national language. They ceaſed to elevate the hoſt in ſaying maſs; and affected an extraordinary zeal for the Bible. The affable manners of the queen, her addreſs in gaining the hearts, and acquiring an aſcendant over the minds, of thoſe who approached her, the graces of her deportment, full of dignity and inſinuation, ſmoothed all the difficulties of the enterprize. She left to the parliament the care of compleating this important work, and giving it the ſeal of the laws.

A. D. 1559. Parliament.

Scarce was the parliament aſſembled, before its members gave proofs of their zeal and ſubmiſſion. The two houſes, having firſt acknowledged her right to the crown, paſſed a bill confirming her ſupremacy, and gave her, under the title of *Governeſs* of the church, all the ſpiritual author-

rity which her father and brother had enjoyed, with power to entruſt the execution of it to ſuch commiſſioners, either eccleſiaſtics or laymen, as ſhe ſhould judge proper to appoint. This was the origin of the high commiſſion court, which in the ſequel exerciſed an arbitrary authority ſo dangerous to civil liberty. The parliament enacted ſevere laws againſt all who refuſed to take the oath of ſupremacy. They confirmed all the ſtatutes of Edward the ſixth reſpecting religion: they gave to the queen the right of naming to biſhoprics, and of appropriating to her own uſe the temporalities of vacant ſees. They aboliſhed the maſs and the liturgy of the Romiſh church. All theſe changes were made without oppoſition, without tumult, at the will of a young woman, who gave the law even on the faith of nations. So ineffectual had been the cruelties of Mary to eſtabliſh popery! ſo accuſtomed were the Engliſh to regulate their religion by that of the prince! The commons, beſides the duties of tonnage and poundage, regarded then as inherently attached to the prerogative, granted

Elizabeth

Elizabeth a ſubſidy, and reſpectfully intreated her to chooſe a huſband. She replied, with the greateſt condeſcenſion and goodneſs, "That marriage had always appeared to her an incumbrance, eſpecially ſince ſhe had been charged with the government of a great kingdom; that the ſtate was her huſband, and the Engliſh her children; and that ſhe ſhould not think herſelf barren, or regard her life as uſeleſs or unfruitful, whilſt ſhe conſecrated her days to the care of ſuch a family." She then gave them to underſtand, that all further inſtances to her on this ſubject would be diſagreable. The commons intreat the queen to marry.

One biſhop [c] alone conſented to take the oath of ſupremacy, and the reſt were depoſed. But of about ten thouſand pariſhes which the kingdom contained, eighty rectors alone, and ſome dignitaries [d], had the courage to ſacrifice their fortune to their religion. It has been obſerved, that Submiſſion of the Catholic clergy.

[c] The biſhop of Landaff; fourteen were depoſed.

[d] According to Hume, eighty pariſh rectors, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans.

the Proteſtants, under the late reign, had ſhewed more zeal and conſcience; either becauſe perſecution had ſtrengthened them in their belief, or that, having applied themſelves more to controverſy, they were more attached to their principles, or that a great number of theſe who profeſſed the ancient faith were ſecretly infected with the new doctrines. The religion of the church of England, retaining many of the ceremonies of that of Rome, thoſe who paid leſs regard to its doctrines, than to its exterior form of worſhip, made little difficulty of embracing it. Several Catholics, undoubtedly, only diſſembled their belief in conformity to the laws; for our internal religious principles cannot be effaced at the will of the prince.

Peace with France.

In order to reduce factious ſpirits to a proper ſubmiſſion to authority, to remedy the exhauſted ſtate of the finances, and to render the kingdom flouriſhing, the queen had occaſion for ſome years of peace. She concluded with France the treaty of Chateau-Cambreſis, by which Calais was left in the poſſeſſion of Henry the ſecond,

ſecond, who obliged himſelf to reſtore it in eight years, provided Elizabeth did not break either with France or Scotland. The prudent queen, without doubt, foreſaw that this place was for ever loſt to England. Being unable to retake it, ſhe had the addreſs at leaſt to ſacrifice it under a plauſible pretext; and whatever might be the regret of the nation, they could not blame a ſtep which the preſent conjuncture juſtified, as neceſſary to the public good. The treaty was more honorable to the king of Spain. Henry the ſecond reſtored to him all the places he had conquered, and granted him his daughter [e] in marriage.

The court of France, however, cauſed great anxiety to Elizabeth. Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, niece to the Guiſes, and wife to Francis the ſecond, who ſoon after ſucceeded Henry the ſecond his father, conteſted the legitimacy of her birth, in order one day to diſpute her crown; and aſſumed the arms and title of

[e] The princeſs Elizabeth, betrothed to his ſon, Don Carlos.

Queen of England. Mary was a dangerous rival, as well by her own proper force, as by that of the powerful nation in which ſhe had ſuch influence. The Guiſes inflamed her ambition, and only waited the favorable moment to aſſert her claim. Elizabeth did not neglect a danger which demanded all her courage and prudence. The diſturbances in Scotland procured her the means of preventing it. In no part had the fanaticiſm of the new ſects diſplayed itſelf more violently than in this kingdom. Ignorance and poverty there fortified ill impreſſions. At the head of the Proteſtant party were men formidable on account of their intrigues, as well as their birth; the earl of Argyle, his ſon lord Lorne, Morton, and other lords. They formed againſt the Romiſh church, which they called *The congregation of Satan*, an aſſociation to which they gave the name of *The congregation of Jeſus*. The confederates, ſeeing, as they expreſſed themſelves, that in the perſon of his agents, the Antichriſts of their age, Satan daily exerciſed his rage to deſtroy the goſpel and the congre-

Fanaticiſm of the Scots.

congregation of Chriſt, engaged themſelves, with the grace of God, to devote all their power, their goods, and even their lives, to the maintenance and propagation of the pure word of God; to the defending each other mutually againſt Satan, and againſt thoſe perverſe perſons who might attempt to diſturb or oppreſs their holy league; renouncing all the abominations and idolatries of the diſciples of the devil. This act, dated in the month of December, 1557, a ſingular monument of human extravagance, was followed by an open revolt againſt the clergy and the Romiſh religion. The famous John Knox, a diſciple of Calvin, and one of the moſt violent preachers in Europe, arriving about this time [f], contributed to inflame the fury of the Scots, his fellow-citizens. The prieſts were attacked at the altar, the images broken, the churches pillaged as temples of idolatry. The flames of civil war ſoon broke forth. The fanatics declared, in a manifeſto, that they

A civil war in Scotland.

[f] From Geneva, where he had paſſed ſome years in baniſhment.

armed by the expreſs command of God, as the people of Iſrael had done againſt the Canaanites; and that they would liſten to no propoſition of peace, whilſt the idolatry of the papiſts, and the perſecution of the children of God, ſubſiſted.

It was believed, the court of France was not ſorry for this inſurrection, as it furniſhed them with a pretext for ſending troops to Scotland, to be ready to ſerve againſt the queen of England. The rebels, notwithſtanding the inveterate hatred which diſunited the two nations, had recourſe to the protection of Elizabeth. Francis the ſecond, or rather his miniſter, offered in vain to reſtore Calais, if ſhe would maintain a neutrality. She replied, that an inconſiderable fiſhing town appeared to her nothing in the balance with the ſecurity of her dominions. She concluded a treaty with the Scots congregation, equipped a fleet, and ſent an army which diſconcerted the French meaſures. They were conſtrained to ſign at Edinburgh a very humiliating treaty, by which
A. D. 1560. the king of France and Mary Stuart renounced the arms of England, and the

the title which they till then had borne, obliging themſelves to make ſatisfaction to the queen for this injury: the rebels were pardoned; the French troops obliged to retire immediately; a council of twelve perſons were appointed, to govern Scotland in Mary's abſence; and this princeſs was limited, not to make peace, or war, without the conſent of the ſtates. This treaty, ſo glorious to Elizabeth, eſtabliſhed her power, and diffuſed her fame over all Europe. Certain from this time of the confidence of the Scots, ſhe became miſtreſs both of their wills and of their forces.

A treaty glorious to the queen.

The parliament of Scotland, aſſembled without having been ſummoned by Mary, received a petition againſt the Catholics, in which they are treated as robbers, aſſaſſins, traitors, unworthy of a longer toleration. They adopted the violent meaſures of their enemies. The maſs was aboliſhed, under pain of confiſcation, of baniſhment, and even of death, to thoſe who dared to aſſiſt at it. They eſtabliſhed the Preſbyterian worſhip, according to the moſt rigid forms of Calviniſm; they plundered and drove away

Parliament of Scotland.

away the Romiſh clergy; and in ſhort carried their fury to the utmoſt exceſs. The queen of Scotland, governed by the Guiſes her uncles, as Francis the ſecond was by her, refuſed her conſent to theſe illegal attempts, diſavowed the treaty of Edinburgh, and continued to bear the arms of England. Her fortune ſuddenly changed, by the death of the king her huſband. Catherine Medicis, mother to Charles the ninth, aſſumed the whole authority, in the quality of regent. Mary Stuart, who ſuffered from her continual mortifications, ſaw herſelf obliged to leave a country which ſhe loved, to return into her unfortunate kingdom. Elizabeth refuſed to give her free paſſage, and equipped, under pretence of purſuing the pirates, a fleet, intended really to ſurprize her. But ſhe had the good fortune to eſcape the Engliſh veſſels. *Adieu, France!* cried ſhe often, her eyes turned towards the coaſt; *Adieu France! I ſhall never ſee thee more.* Though ſhe had quitted the arms of England after the death of her huſband, Elizabeth did not forget her having aſſumed them; and determined

A. D. 1561. Mary Stuart returns to Scotland.

determined to revenge herſelf of ſo deteſted a rival.

If the graces and the bloom of youth, the charms of beauty, the moſt winning ſoftneſs of character, politeneſs of manners, and all thoſe acquired talents which add luſtre to native lovelineſs, had been able to gain on a people naturally ferocious, and hardened by fanaticiſm, Mary would ſoon have been the idol of her ſubjects. Far from wounding their religious prejudices, ſhe gave her confidence to the leaders of the Proteſtant party, who were the oracles of the people. But her attachment to the Catholic religion was ſufficient to inſpire the multitude with terror and abhorrence. Scarce could ſhe obtain permiſſion to hear maſs in the chapel of her palace. *One ſingle maſs*, ſaid the furious preachers, *is more terrible than ten thouſand men armed againſt the kingdom*. Knox ſignalized himſelf every day by new violences. Nothing can equal the hardineſs of an enthuſiaſt, who pretends to inſpiration, in order to give the law to nations and to ſovereigns. He gave the queen publicly the title of Jezabel. He had the imprudence

Audacity of Knox.

imprudence to tell her, that "Samuel had not feared, in oppoſition to king Saul, to kill Agag; that Elias, in the preſence of Ahab, had not ſpared the falſe prophets of Jezabel, nor the prieſts of Baal; that Phineas, without being a magiſtrate, had put the fornicators Coſbi and Zimri to death; that therefore others, beſides magiſtrates, might lawfully puniſh crimes condemned by the law of God." Such was the frequent language of a fanaticiſm, ſufficiently impious or blind to take from Scripture itſelf the juſtification of the moſt atrocious enormities. Mary in vain endeavored to gain this inſolent declaimer. He diſdainfully rejected her advances; and never ceaſed to uſe his utmoſt efforts to inſpire the people with ſentiments of rebellion: being cited before the council, he intrepidly defended his arrogance, and was acquitted.

Elizabeth reconciles herſelf to Mary.

In a ſituation ſo unſettled and dangerous, Mary could not do better than live on good terms with Elizabeth. She therefore confined her demands to that of being acknowledged her ſucceſſor. Elizabeth carefully avoided

avoided conſenting to this demand. It would have been giving weight to the original pretenſions of her rival. Determined, ſhe ſaid, to live and die queen of England, ſhe left to others the care of examining, after her death, the rights of whoever pretended to her throne: ſhe hoped that thoſe of the queen of Scotland would appear the beſt founded; and, in ſpite of the injuries ſhe had received from this princeſs, ſhe willingly promiſed to do nothing to her prejudice, in regard to the ſucceſſion. The two queens appeared to be ſincerely reconciled.

Government of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth, having no longer any thing to fear from Scotland, turned her whole attention, and employed all her knowledge, in making England flouriſh. She turned her cares to paying the debts of the ſtate, regulating the money which her predeceſſors had debaſed, filling her arſenals with arms, improving the diſcipline of the troops, encouraging agriculture by permitting the exportation of corn, favoring commerce and navigation, and conſtituting a formidable marine. The glory, which accompanied her labors, drew on her,

with

with the admiration of all Europe, the addreſſes of ſeveral princes, charmed either with her perſon or greatneſs. She received their homage, and amuſed their hopes; ſtill reſolved to preſerve her liberty. Self-love had perhaps as great a ſhare in this conduct as the love of dominion. Whilſt ſhe continued obſtinate herſelf in refuſing to accept a huſband, ſhe might appear jealous that others ſhould give her heirs. Catherine Gray, daughter to the duke of Suffolk, whoſe poſterity might have had pretenſions to the crown, was put in priſon for having married without the queen's conſent, and continued there to her death. This action is not the only proof of the malignant jealouſy of Elizabeth.

A. D. 1562. Religious wars in France.

The religious wars, kindled on the continent, gave a new career to her policy. Since the death of Henry the ſecond, which happened in 1559, the Hugonots, whom he had perſecuted with extreme rigor, were become very formidable, as well by the warmth of their enthuſiaſm, as by the power and talents of their chiefs. The prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni,

Coligni, and Andelot his brother, animated this reſtleſs faction; whilſt the Guiſes, their declared enemies, inflamed the ardent zeal of the Catholics; both making uſe of the maſk of religion, to advance or ſupport their temporal fortunes. The treacherous ſuppleneſs of Catherine de Medicis had only irritated the fury of the two irreconcileable parties. Philip the ſecond, whoſe intereſt and fame were equally concerned to extirpate the new opinions; who had even ſome deſire to fix a ſtain on the memory of his father, ſtrongly ſuſpected of a ſecret inclination for theſe doctrines, after having ſo long perſecuted thoſe who profeſſed them; Philip, I ſay, favored the Catholics of France, from whom he hoped to draw great advantages. The Calviniſts, on their ſide, ſought the protection of England; and, as the ſpirit of party ſtifles every ſentiment of patriotiſm, delivered up to Elizabeth Havre de Grace, one of the important places in the kingdom. Indemnified therefore for the loſs of Calais, ſhe ſent them a ſupply of troops. In taking poſſeſſion of Havre, ſhe declared in a manifeſto,

Havre delivered up to the Engliſh.

manifeſto, her intention was to ſerve the king of France againſt the Guiſes, who held him in ſlavery. Theſe political pretences may give an exterior coloring to whatever we chuſe to act, but without deceiving any one.

Acts of parliament.

The treaſury, in ſpite of all the queen's œconomy, being exhauſted in aſſiſting the Hugonots, ſhe aſſembled the parliament. A dangerous malady [g], which had awakened her people's fears of loſing her, had increaſed the national anxiety for the appointment of a ſucceſſor. But the intreaties of the parliament could not ſoften Elizabeth's reſolution. To keep thoſe who pretended to the crown within the bounds of duty and reſpect, ſhe left their rights uncertain, and only promiſed to provide at a proper time for the ſecurity of the ſtate. They gave more extent to the oath of ſupremacy; they enacted, that a ſecond refuſal to take it ſhould be high treaſon; made a law againſt thoſe viſionary enthuſiaſts who ſeduced the people; and another againſt magicians and ſorcerers, whom they ſuppoſed

[g] The ſmall pox.

ſtill

ſtill more dangerous. The parliament was then prorogued, after having granted a ſubſidy. But the duke of Guiſe having been aſſaſſinated [b] at the ſiege of Orleans, and the prince of Condé having made peace with the court, the French united to take Havre from the Engliſh. A garriſon of ſix thouſand men, ill ſupplied with proviſions, and reduced by a peſtilence to a ſmall number, could not reſiſt the French army, where Charles the ninth and his mother were in perſon. Havre was retaken, and Elizabeth concluded a treaty with France, without inſiſting on the reſtitution of Calais. The French gave her two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns to ſend back the hoſtages, and the pretenſions on both ſides remained as before.

A. D. 1563. Havre retaken.

This war did little honor to Elizabeth. But misfortunes are nothing in compariſon with vices; and this great ſoul, this ſuperior genius, had one which threw a ſhade over her glory; ſuch is the weakneſs of the hu-

Elizabeth's jealouſy of Mary.

[b] By Poltrot, a young French gentleman of the oppoſite party.

man

man heart! Under an appearance of friendſhip, ſhe nouriſhed a violent jealouſy of Mary. Not only as a queen, but as a woman, ſhe deteſted a rival who excelled her in beauty, and might poſſibly diſpute her crown [*i*]. Hiſtory has preſerved a variety of little circumſtances, calculated to make us ſenſible how many meanneſſes paſſion can mix with the moſt eminent qualities. We will relate only the principal facts. The Guiſes having formed for their niece many projects of marriage with foreign princes, Elizabeth ſpared no pains to render them abortive. If ſhe found it beyond her power to prevent Mary from entering into a ſecond engagement, ſhe

[*i*] Mary's cloſe connexions with the houſe of Guiſe, and her devoted attachment to her uncles, by whom ſhe had been educated and protected, was the ground of *juſt* and inſurmountable jealouſy to Elizabeth, who regarded them as her mortal and declared enemies, and was well acquainted with their dangerous character and ambitious projects. They had made an offer of their niece to Don Carlos, Philip's ſon, to the king of Sweden, the king of Navarre, the archduke Charles, the duke of Ferrara, the cardinal of Bourbon, who had only taken deacon's orders, from which he might eaſily be abſolved. HUME.

reſolved

reſolved at leaſt that her choice ſhould fall on an Engliſhman, who could give her no diſturbance. She even propoſed her favorite, the earl of Leiceſter, from whom ſhe would not ſurely have choſen to part. Finding the propoſal did not diſpleaſe Mary, ſhe ſought for pretences to elude her promiſe. At length, after two years of uncertainty, Mary determined in favor of lord Darnley, her couſin-german, who could give no umbrage to Elizabeth. The queen appeared to conſent to this marriage, yet acted ſoon after as if ſhe had reaſon to be offended with it. Fanaticiſm on one ſide, and the ambition of ſome of the nobles on the other, having occaſioned an inſurrection in Scotland, ſhe encouraged the ſeditious, and diſavowed her meaſures when ſhe ſaw them unattended with ſucceſs. A policy ſo full of falſehood and duplicity will ever diſguſt ſouls truly virtuous. Can the act of reigning be that of deceiving and deſtroying?

A. D. 1565. Marriage of the queen of Scotland.

Darnley was in the flower of his age, and of a form uncommonly lovely: he made himſelf ſo agreable to Mary, that ſhe gave him the title of

Bad conduct of Darnley.

of king, and joined his name to her own in all public acts. But ſhe was ſoon ſenſible that theſe exterior advantages covered a mind, light, vain, incapable of gratitude, actuated by pride and ſelf-love, and too much inclined to libertiniſm to attach himſelf ſincerely even to the moſt amiable of wives. Diſguſted with this unworthy huſband, ſhe withdrew by degrees her confidence in him. David Rizzio, a Piedmonteze muſician, had inſinuated himſelf at the court, leſs by his talents than by his addreſs. Mary had appointed him her ſecretary, had loaded him with favors, and, by giving him an exceſs of credit, had placed him in a ſituation to ſell his protection, and to exerciſe all the inſolence of a favorite without merit. The king was perſuaded by thoſe about him, that Rizzio was the cauſe of the queen's indifference. Jealouſy mixed with reſentment; and, in ſpite of the diſagreable figure of the Piedmonteze, he was believed to be more than the meer confident of Mary. The ſuſpicion was ridiculous [*k*], but very

[*k*] Buchanan, the queen's declared enemy, inſinuates, that David's influence was by no proper,

proper, however, to make terrible impreſſions on a heart already ulcerated. The diſcontented lords, after having diſpoſed the mind of the jealous prince to vengeance, offered themſelves to be the executors of it. One day, when the queen was at ta-

means confined only to public affairs. He ſays, that ſhe frequently admitted him to her table, and went to eat at his, and by ſuch uncommon familiarities gave room to ſcandalous ſuſpicions. But as Buchanan may with juſtice be ſuſpected of having aggravated this matter, it is better to adhere to Melvil, and his account of it. He can be accuſed of no deſign to aſperſe the queen's reputation; as, on the contrary, he every where profeſſes a great zeal for her, with acknowledgement nevertheleſs of her faults and errors. At the time when Rizzio was in the greateſt favor with the queen, ſhe had a confidence in Melvil ſo intire, as even to allow, or rather command, him to admoniſh her of her faults. See what account this author, in his Memoirs, gives of Rizzio —" His pride and inſolence rendered him odious to the whole nobility. When the great ones waited on the queen to confer with her upon affairs of the government, they always found Rizzio in her chamber. He affected to whiſper in her ear whilſt ſhe was in conference with them, and even in the aſſembly of all the ſtates." The ſame author adds, that having himſelf repreſented to the queen the injuries which her favors heaped on this ſtranger now did her, and might afterwards occaſion, his remonſtrance was ill received. RAPIN.

A. D. 1566. Murder of Rizzio.

ble with Rizzio and ſome other perſons of her family, they entered armed, threw themſelves on this unhappy man, who in vain implored the protection of his affrighted miſtreſs, ſtabbed him before her eyes, and almoſt in her arms, dragged him into the antichamber, and left him dead after, having received fifty-ſix wounds. Mary was five months gone with child; a circumſtance which aggravated the atrociouſneſs of this murder. She had, however, the happineſs to be delivered of a ſon, deſtined to reign one day over England as well as Scotland.

Parliament.

The parliament renewed their inſtances with redoubled ardor, to engage Elizabeth to marry, and fix the ſucceſſion. Nothing could be more diſagreable to the queen, equally jealous of her authority, and the affection of her ſubjects. She forbad them to enter on this ſubject. Wentworth, a member of the lower houſe, had the courage to queſtion, whether ſuch a prohibition was not an infringement of the freedom and privileges of parliament. The queen retracted her orders, and the minds of the commons

mons were calmed. They granted her a ſubſidy, and ſhe ſoon after diſſolved the parliament, not without expreſſing ſtrongly her diſapprobation of their conduct. As the ſubſidy ſeemed to have been granted with a view of obtaining her conſent, ſhe remitted a third, and ſaid, "that money in the purſes of her ſubjects was as well as in her own exchequer."

Till this period, Mary had acted with ſufficient prudence to gain the hearts, and merit the eſteem, of the Scots. But all was ſoon changed. The enormous crimes imputed to her rendered her odious, and drew on her ruin. The greater part of the Proteſtant hiſtorians regard theſe accuſations as certain; the Catholics reject them as the blackeſt calumnies. Partiality entered into theſe contradictory opinions. It belongs to the judicious reader to determine according to facts [*l*]. It is with difficulty, that we

[*l*] Rapin has given reaſons why he prefers the teſtimony of Buchanan, though furious againſt Mary, and that of Melvil attached to this princeſs, to that of Camden, who juſtifies her, but who wrote under the reign of her ſon, James the firſt. Mr. Hume, much more im-

can perſuade ourſelves a ſoul ſo noble could contaminate itſelf with ſuch a number of horrible crimes; but we diſcover ſigns of a paſſion, which has fixed an indelible ſtain on her memory. Such is human weakneſs, that the beſt natural diſpoſitions, involved in a fatal concurrence of circumſtances, may overleap all the barriers of duty and of wiſdom.

The king of Scotland, after the aſſaſſination of Rizzio, expoſed to the reſentment of Mary, and overwhelmed with contempt and with want, retired from court, where he experienced only vexations. A nobleman, as contemptible for his vices as diſtinguiſhed by his birth, poſſeſſed the boundleſs confidence of the queen. This nobleman was the earl of Bothwel, accuſed of having ſeveral times attempted to aſſaſſinate the earl of Murray, the head of the Proteſtant party. Her attachment to him was ſuppoſed the effect of love, and the event added credit to theſe

partial than Rapin, has neither followed Buchanan, nor even De Thou; yet, upon the whole, judges as they do.

ſuſpicions.

ſuſpicions. Mary on a ſudden appeared to be reconciled to her huſband, who was fallen ſick [*m*]. She engaged him to return with her to Edinburgh, gave him an apartment divided from her palace [*n*], paſſed herſelf ſome nights there, and told him one day ſhe ſhould not return to ſleep there that night, becauſe ſhe was to be preſent at the marriage of one of her ſervants. The next morning it was known that he had been aſſaſſinated, and his houſe blown up by gunpowder. Bothwel was generally accuſed as the author of this attempt; ſome perſons extended their ſuſpicions even to the queen. The earl of Lenox, father to Darnley, implored juſtice againſt his murderers, and named the favorite, with ſeven other perſons; none of them were arreſted: they gave only fifteen days to the examination of an affair of ſuch importance; in vain Lenox demanded time: the informations were precipitated; and neither accuſer nor wit-

[*m*] She had taken a journey to Glaſgow, to viſit him during his ſickneſs.

[*n*] In a ſolitary houſe, at ſome diſtance, called Kirk-a-field.

neſſes appearing, Bothwel was declared innocent. This atrocious miſcreant prepared to commit new crimes. He forcibly carried off the queen, who was going to viſit her ſon, and led her to Dunbar, in the avowed deſign of eſpouſing her; he ſoon after received a pardon, not only for this violence, but for *all other crimes*, and conſequently for the regicide of which he was accuſed. Such a pardon was regarded as a proof of connivance ſo much the more certain, as Mary remained voluntarily in the hands of the raviſher, after having declared that Bothwel had ſeized on her perſon by force. He had been ſix months married to a woman of merit, and of illuſtrious birth [*o*]. He took meaſures to annul his marriage. The affair was pleaded with ſucceſs before two tribunals, the one Popiſh, the other Proteſtant. The firſt decided on the plea of conſanguinity alledged by Bothwel, the other on that of adultery alledged by his wife; and the ſentence of divorce was pronounced four days after the commencement of

Mary eſpouſes Bothwel, the aſſaſſin of her huſband.

[*o*] The ſiſter of the earl of Huntley.

the

the proceedings. The queen being returned to Edinburgh, Craig, a Proteſtant miniſter, was ordered to publiſh the banns of marriage. He courageouſly refuſed to lend the ſanction of his miniſtry to ſo ſcandalous an alliance. A Proteſtant biſhop [p] conſented to perform the ceremony. Very few of the nobility were preſent at the ceremony, though ſeveral had, in the beginning, propoſed the marriage with Bothwel. The French ambaſſador refuſed to appear there. Mary, who had always ſhewed ſuch deference to the advice of the Guiſes, was obſtinately determined not to purſue it in an affair in which ſhe was ſo blinded by paſſion.

Revolt of the Scots.

This event covered her with ignominy in the eyes of her ſubjects, and of all Europe. The ſuſpicions in reſpect to the king's aſſaſſination now acquired probability. A connexion ſo intimate with him whom the public voice accuſed, an eagerneſs ſo ſtriking to get him exculpated from this crime, a marriage ſo contrary to

[p] The biſhop of Orkney, who was afterwards depoſed by the church for this ſcandalous compliance.

decency, and brought about by means ſo odious, all gave room to think that Mary, a ſlave to her paſſion for Bothwel, had been an accomplice in his crime. Without imputing to her this inhuman action, we cannot, however, hinder ourſelves from believing her guilty of the moſt ſhameful weakneſs. The Scots, enraged, took arms. Bothwel eſcaped to Denmark, and died there in a priſon ſome years after. Mary fell into the hands of the conſpirators, and was conducted to Edinburgh amidſt the inſults of the populace: they carried before her a banner, on which was repreſented the murder of her huſband, and her weeping infant, who ſeemed to demand vengeance. Though Elizabeth intereſted herſelf in her favor, though ſhe warmly ſolicited her liberty, they made the unhappy queen ſign a reſignation of her kingdom to her ſon, who was proclaimed under the name of James the ſixth; and a ſecond act, by which the regency was intruſted to the earl of Murray, natural brother to Mary, an enterprizing nobleman, the principal author of the religious

gious diſturbances which had ſo long agitated the kingdom.

A. D. 1568. Mary Stuart flies to England.

The rigorous treatment ſhe received from Murray, throwing the queen into deſpair, ſhe made her eſcape from priſon. A great part of the nobility ranged themſelves under her ſtandard, and formed an army of ſix thouſand men. The regent haſtened to attack her near Glaſgow. He gained a complete victory. Mary fled to England, and was no ſooner arrived there, than ſhe ſent to demand Elizabeth's permiſſion to proceed to London. Elizabeth heſitated between generoſity and policy; but the latter prevailed. Convinced it would be equally dangerous to her either to declare at firſt for the fugitive queen, or to ſuffer her to go out of her dominions, ſhe employed the moſt artful precautions to take advantage of the preſent conjuncture: ſhe cauſed her to be told, that, notwithſtanding her friendſhip for her, ſhe could not with decency either ſee or aſſiſt her, till ſhe was fully juſtified in reſpect to the crime of which ſhe was accuſed. Mary replied, that ſhe would very willingly juſtify herſelf to a princeſs whom ſhe

regarded as her ſiſter. To take her for an arbiter, and ſubmit to her judgement, was a ſtep ſubject to great difficulties. The royal dignity ſeemed to be debaſed by thus acting on equal terms with her rebel ſubjects. However, after ſome changes of opinion, the queen of Scotland conſented anew to the arbitration; ſhe named commiſſioners to defend her; the earl of Murray and ſome other Scots appeared as her accuſers, in the name of the nation [q].

Commiſſion to examine the queen of Scots.

The cauſe of Mary appeared at firſt triumphant. Murray, either influenced by the hope that if they ſpared her honor, ſhe would agree to reaſonable terms of accommodation, or the fear of expoſing himſelf to a certain

[q] The commiſſioners appointed by Elizabeth, were the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Suſſex, and Sir Ralph Sadler; by the queen of Scots, Leſley biſhop of Roſs, the lords Herreis, Levingſtone, and Boyde, with five other perſons; thoſe who appeared as her accuſers, in the name of the king and kingdom of Scotland, were the earls of Murray and Morton, the biſhop of Orkney, lord Lindeſey, and the abbot of Dumferling, to whom ſecretary Lydington, the celebrated Buchanan, and ſome others, were added as aſſiſtants. The conferences were held at York.

death

death if ſhe ſhould ever remount the throne, had paſſed over in ſilence the murder of Darnley, the principal object of the conferences. This head of accuſation being waved, the queen oppoſed plauſible arguments to thoſe of her adverſaries. "How could ſhe ſuſpect that Bothwel was the murderer of her huſband, he who had been judicially acquitted, and whom the whole body of the nobility had entreated her to eſpouſe? If he was culpable, ſhe deſired he might be puniſhed: that as to her reſignation of the crown, it was an act forced and null, of which the Engliſh ambaſſador had at the time aſſured her no advantage could be taken: ſhe therefore demanded, by what right, and under what pretence, the Scots had revolted, put her in priſon, attacked the troops which defended her, and whilſt living given her a ſucceſſor?" Murray felt all the force of theſe replies. Being convinced, that if the queen's crime was effectually proved, Elizabeth would declare againſt her, he at length determined to keep no meaſures, and produced proofs of an accuſation which fills one

with horror. Theſe were a ſeries of love-letters addreſſed to Bothwel, and wrote with Mary's own hand, and a promiſe of marriage, which ſhe had ſigned before the trial and acquittal of this infamous ſeducer. It appeared clearly from theſe, that all Bothwel's crimes, the regicide, the rape, had been concerted with the queen. Mary's commiſſioners, having in vain labored to parry this blow, immediately changed their ſyſtem; they deſired that Elizabeth, inſtead of continuing the enquiry, would endeavor to bring about an accommodation; and as they were anſwered, that it was neceſſary to clear her from the charge, they broke off the conferences. Theſe fatal papers were afterwards publiſhed. It has been pretended they were forged; but, as Mr. Hume obſerves, the proofs of impoſture are weak, and the leſs worthy of credit, as the queen of Scots refuſed to clear up the truth in ſo critical a moment for her honor. He ſupports this opinion with a profuſion of reaſons. Father Orleans, on the other ſide, aſſures us, that Mary's defenders juſtified her ſo indiſputably,

both

both in reſpect to the murder of Darnley, and her pretended love for Bothwel, *that her enemies reaped only diſgrace and confuſion from this ſtep, eſpecially when they were convicted of having forged the queen's hand-writing, in order to charge her with the famous letters which they pretended to have found amongſt the papers of this nobleman.* We ſhould be happy to have the power of affirming the ſame thing; but facts ſpeak too ſtrongly againſt Mary, and the proofs of her apologiſts are much weaker than thoſe of her accuſers.

Elizabeth uſed every effort to engage Mary to reply. Inflexible in her reſolution, ſhe accuſed Murray and the other commiſſioners of her huſband's aſſaſſination, without producing any proofs againſt them; ſhe haughtily rejected the offer made her by the queen, of burying all the paſt in oblivion, provided ſhe would reſign the crown, or even aſſociate her ſon into the royalty, and ſuffer the adminiſtration of government to remain in the hands of Murray, during the minority of the young prince. *My laſt words,* ſaid ſhe, *ſhall be thoſe of a queen of Scotland.* Mary's firmneſs.

Scotland. At length ſhe preſſed Elizabeth, either to aſſiſt her in recovering poſſeſſion of her kingdom, or to permit her to retire into France, and ſeek other aſſiſtance. The queen eluded theſe demands; and the unfortunate princeſs, whoſe wit and inſinuating graces had ſo much the power of gaining hearts, was guarded with the utmoſt care. Elizabeth very clearly foreſaw her priſoner would excite diſturbances in the kingdom; but ſhe had reaſon to fear that liberty would render her ſtill more dangerous. A wiſe and modeſt conduct, a ſtriking air of dignity, ſupported by very extraordinary charms and endowments, a firm and magnanimous ſpirit, that compaſſion which uncommon misfortunes always inſpire, the intereſt of the Romiſh religion, with the perſonal views and deſigns of a number of individuals, ſecured to Mary a conſiderable party; and it ſeemed impoſſible that conſpiracies ſhould not ſoon be formed in her favor.

A. D. 1569. Conſpiracy of the duke of Norfolk.

The duke of Norfolk, the greateſt nobleman in England by his birth and fortune, equally beloved and reſpected

ſpected by the people, worthy of the good graces of Elizabeth, ſuffered himſelf to be flattered by the hope of eſpouſing Mary. Murray made the firſt overture of this deſign, of which he probably did not wiſh the execution. They ſounded Mary's ſentiments. She replied, that ſhe ſhould never refuſe to ſacrifice to the public good her repugnance to a new marriage; and that, if her engagements with Bothwel were legally diſſolved, ſhe was ready to take the huſband who ſhould be agreable to her people and the nobles of her kingdom. Though Norfolk was determined to conclude nothing without Elizabeth's conſent, yet, deſpairing of obtaining it either by inſinuation or entreaties, he wiſhed to make a party capable of ſupporting his intereſts, and in ſome ſort forcing from her this conſent. Some of the principal lords entered zealouſly into his views. The kings of France and Spain, who were privately conſulted, approved the deſign. Cecil, the ſecretary of ſtate, a man equally vigilant and uncorrupt, was not long before he diſcovered ſome traces of this conſpiracy; and the queen

queen one day warned Norfolk, *to be careful on what pillow he repoſed his head.* The duke retired into the country without taking leave; but, ſtung with remorſe, ſet out a few days after on his return, in order to repair a fault for which he felt the moſt lively repentance. He was arreſted [*r*], with the other conſpirators [*s*]. The intended inſurrections took place notwithſtanding in ſome counties; they were ſuppreſſed without difficulty, their chiefs having too much precipitated their meaſures. Norfolk himſelf, thus circumſtanced, appeared zealous for the queen, who reſtored him to liberty, on condition of his abandoning all thoughts of this marriage.

In order, however, to keep well with Mary's partizans, ſhe affected to negotiate in her favor, and to give her the ſtrongeſt evidences of her attachment: Mary, on her ſide, affected a perfect confidence in her friendſhip: both diſguiſing, from political motives, the real ſentiments of their hearts.

[*r*] At St. Albans, on his way to the court.

[*s*] The earl of Pembroke, Arundel, Lumley, and Throgmorton.

Murray

Murray was aſſaſſinated at the very time when he was, it is ſaid, negotiating to have the royal priſoner delivered into his hands. This event excited freſh troubles in Scotland. Elizabeth made new propoſals, as well to Mary, as to the Scots. But, far from ſincerely deſiring to bring about an accommodation, ſhe exhorted the rebels to continue firm, whilſt ſhe amuſed the other party with fallacious promiſes. The court of Rome effectually animated her reſentment againſt all which concerned the Romiſh church. Pius the fifth, having failed in gaining her friendſhip, fulminated againſt her all the thunders of the Vatican, declared her excommunicate, and pretended to deprive her of her crown, by abſolving her ſubjects from their oath of fidelity. He found a man hardy enough to affix this bull to the gate of the biſhop of London's palace, and to ſeek death as the worthy recompence of his zeal. This attempt of the pope, which was attributed to the intrigues of the queen of Scotland, could not but embitter Elizabeth's averſion.

A. D. 1571. Elizabeth excommunicated.

Extremely

Puritans. Extremely attentive to affairs of religion, ſhe found in the ſect of Puritans, as well as amongſt the Papiſts, wherewith to exerciſe her vigilance. The Puritans had made themſelves conſpicuous, ever ſince the year 1568, as rigid enthuſiaſts; enemies to epiſcopacy, to religious ceremonies, and all the remains of the ancient worſhip, which they abhorred as much as the ſuperſtitions of Paganiſm. They condemned the religion of the church of England, "infected, to uſe their language, with all the filthineſs of the Romiſh Antichriſt." An image, a genuflexion, a ſurplice, a ſquare cap, excited their horror. But nothing rendered them more dangerous than that ſpirit of independence which animated them; the tranſports of which, reduced into a ſyſtem, cauſed in the ſequel ſuch bloody revolutions. Of what attempt is not the love of liberty capable, when heightened and inſpired by fanaticiſm!

Theſe ſeeds of rebellion began to bloſſom in the new parliament. Strickland, one of the members, propoſed to reform the liturgy, and eſpecially to ſuppreſs the croſs in baptiſm.

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The oppoſite party objected, that this would be to infringe on the queen's right of ſupremacy; that, as head of the church, ſhe alone could regulate ceremonies, and the form of public worſhip; and that it was dangerous for the commons to intermeddle in affairs of that nature. "What!" exclaimed a Puritan, "ſhall we neglect objects of ſuch infinite conſequence? The queſtion regards the ſalvation of ſouls; all the kingdoms of the earth are nothing in compariſon with it." This ſally of zeal, though approved in the houſe, was inſufficient to weaken the reſpect with which the greater number regarded the prerogative. But Elizabeth having forbid Strickland to appear again in the aſſembly, the commons complained of an act of authority, which threw ſuch obſtacles in the way of parliamentary deliberations: they obſerved, that the members of the lower houſe ought to be regarded as the repreſentatives of the nation; that, though the queen had an indiſputable right to ſupport her prerogative, yet was that prerogative limited by the laws, which it gave her no power either

either to violate or to eſtabliſh. We ſhall ſee theſe principles take deep root in the following reign, and acquire every day new force [*t*]. They were of no effect againſt the authority of Elizabeth. An excluſive privilege granted to a commercial company, was alſo attacked by a Puritan in the houſe of commons. But he in vain repreſented the dangerous conſequences of this patent. The common opinion attached ſuch extraordinary rights to the crown, that all the efforts of a riſing ſpirit of freedom produced no effect. Two words were ſufficient to ſtop the parliament; *the queen will be offended, the council will be diſpleaſed.* To interfere in matters of ſtate, appeared an inſupportable temerity. Elizabeth was notwithſtanding always regarded as a popular queen; ſo different at that time were men's ideas of the conſtitution from thoſe which ſo ſoon after changed

[*t*] Theſe principles were popular, and noble, and generous; but the open aſſertion of them was, at that time, ſomewhat new in England; and the courtiers were more warranted by preſent practice when they advanced a contrary doctrine. HUME.

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the whole form of government. This wiſe princeſs aſked very few ſubſidies. Her œconomy, and the reſources ſhe found elſewhere, raiſing her above the neceſſity of demanding them, contributed undoubtedly to preſerve her from all dangerous oppoſitions.

Civil wars of France.

Whilſt ſhe maintained tranquillity in her dominions, religious wars tore the bowels of the neighboring ſtates. The prince of Condé having periſhed at the battle of Jarnac, in 1569, his ſon and the young prince of Navarre (afterwards Henry the fourth) were put at the head of the Hugonots. Coligni, always unfortunate, but always formidable even in misfortune, ſupported the rebel party againſt the forces of the king, and the ambition of Henry of Guiſe. Though Elizabeth was too jealous of the royal authority to approve the rebellion, ſhe continued to ſend ſuccours to the Proteſtants. Defeated at Moncontour, by the duke of Anjou, brother to Charles the ninth, they ſo inſtantaneouſly recovered their defeat, that the king was again obliged to grant them liberty of conſcience, and pardon for their revolts. The court of France changed

changed its meaſures in reſpect to the Hugonots, without loſing any thing of its animoſity. Charles and his friends employed ſtratagem, no longer hoping to ſucceed by force; they careſſed thoſe they were aiming to deſtroy. Elizabeth received propoſals of marriage from the duke of Anjou. Her artful policy unveiled itſelf more than ever on this occaſion. She conſented, in appearance, to the deſign of all others leaſt conformable to her views. Powerful reaſons engaged her to diſſemble; and her diſputes with Spain on the ſubject of the Low Countries were ſufficient to oblige her to keep on good terms with France.

Troubles of the Low Countries

Theſe provinces furniſhed the principal theatre on which the ſpirit of fanaticiſm on one ſide, and the rigors of perſecution on the other, renewed every day the moſt ſavage and bloody ſcenes. Proteſtantiſm having glided in imperceptibly by the road of commerce, Charles the fifth had been unable to ſuppreſs it; though hiſtorians compute that about fifty thouſand perſons were in his reign executed for hereſy [*u*]. The inutility of

[*u*] In the Low Countries only; fifty thou-

puniſhments

puniſhments had rendered the magiſtrates leſs ſevere. But Philip the ſecond puſhed his ſeverities to a tyrannical exceſs, which could not fail of alienating a nation jealous of its liberty. The military executions of the famous duke of Alva, the deſpotiſm of cardinal Granville [w], the project of eſtabliſhing the inquiſition, and of depriving the Flemings of their privileges, the oppreſſions, the cruelties, exerciſed on this people, at length drove them to ſhake off an odious and inſupportable yoke. Elizabeth, ſhocked at theſe violences, protected the unhappy ſufferers, now reduced to deſpair. The duke of Alva endeavored to find her employment, by renewing the negotiation between Mary Stuart and Norfolk. The former, ſeeing herſelf without reſource, willingly accepted the offers made by Alva of delivering her from priſon; the lat-

ſand more are ſuppoſed to have been put to death in his other dominions.

[w] Prime miniſter to Margaret dutcheſs of Parma, governeſs of the Low Countries, a princeſs of whom hiſtorians give the moſt amiable character, and whoſe wiſe and moderate counſels, if purſued, would probably have preſerved thoſe dominions to Philip.

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ter, finding it impoſſible for him to regain the confidence of Elizabeth, violated the promiſe he had made her of breaking off all correſpondence with the queen of Scots. He engaged in a new conſpiracy; flattering himſelf that he was not criminal, becauſe he wiſhed only to obtain the queen's conſent to his marriage with this unfortunate princeſs. The conſpiracy was diſcovered; and the duke of Norfolk, convicted of high treaſon, periſhed on a ſcaffold. The parliament made application to the queen to order Mary to be proſecuted. Paſſages of Scripture, and, in particular, examples from the Old Teſtament, were cited to authorize this injuſtice. Such was the general ſtyle of the Puritans. Elizabeth, who did not love them, repreſſed their zeal; but ſhe treated the queen of Scotland more harſhly, and even ſent aſſiſtance to her enemies.

A. D. 1572. Maſſacre of St. Bartholomew.

The perfidious peace granted in France to the Hugonots, ſerved to cover the inhuman project of St. Bartholomew. This horrible maſſacre, the remembrance of which is ſhocking to religion as well as humanity, was the fruit of a policy equally blind and

and atrocious. Fenelon, ambaſſador from Charles the ninth at London, did not diſſemble his horror or his affliction. "He ſhould now bluſh," he ſaid, "to bear the name of Frenchman." Charged, however, with the taſk of juſtifying the court of France, which pretended to have found the Calviniſts guilty of a new deſign of revolting, he demanded an audience of Elizabeth. The gloomy ſilence which reigned over all the palace, the ſorrow and indignation painted on every countenance, the deep mourning of the courtiers, all expreſſed ſtrongly the ſentiments of the Engliſh nation. The queen heard him, however, with temper, and replied without bitterneſs. She contented herſelf with obſerving, that even allowing the reality of this conſpiracy of the Calviniſts, it was not by cutting the throats of thouſands of innocent citizens, the French court ought to have prevented its effects; that, by ſecuring the perſons of the leaders, and proceeding againſt them by legal methods, they would have been able to diſtinguiſh innocence from guilt; that admiral Co-

Eliza-beth's ſentiments on this act of barbarity.

ligni eſpecially, dangerouſly ill of his wounds, could not have eſcaped the juſtice of his ſovereign; that inhuman aſſaſſins were not the proper executors of his juſtice; that, as to the reſt, the king's conduct would beſt explain his intentions; and that, in the mean time, ſhe ſhould confine herſelf to pitying the ſhocking extremities to which he had been carried againſt his ſubjects. The prudent queen knew the influence of the Guiſes, and their attachment to Mary Stuart. She did not chooſe to break with a court which had ſo much the power of giving her diſturbance. The Hugonot party, however, far from being cruſhed by the dreadful ſlaughter of St. Bartholomew, roſe from the blow more furious than ever. The prince of Condé, and ſoon after the king of Navarre, retracted the abjuration, which their danger had compelled them to make. Under theſe two heads, the Calviniſts might hope to revenge the blood of their murdered brethren. Charles the ninth, being dead without male heirs, the duke of Anjou, lately elected king of Poland, haſtened to take poſſeſſion of a diſ-

Conſequences of the maſſacre.

honored

honored and tottering throne. His reputation declined when raiſed to this height of greatneſs. Deſpiſed and hated by his people, he had the weakneſs to give his ſanction to the famous league, armed againſt himſelf under pretence of defending religion. We ſhall touch only lightly on theſe events, which belong properly to another hiſtory.

The more France was torn by civil diſſenſions, the leſs had Elizabeth to fear from Mary. She continued therefore to aſſiſt the Proteſtants with money, and to follow a plan of policy dictated both by intereſt and her religious principles. The affairs of the Low Countries demanded all her prudence. Not to provoke Philip the ſecond, ſhe had been obliged to ſhut the ports of England againſt the perſecuted Flemings. Deſpair gave them new ſtrength. Having taken the Brille, a maritime place in Holland, by aſſault, they became every day more formidable; and this province, with Zealand, revolted, in 1572, againſt the Spaniſh government. William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, put himſelf at the head of a confe-

Affairs of the Low Countries.

deracy, deſtined to eſtabliſh the moſt powerful republic of Europe. The duke of Alva, after having been repulſed at the ſiege of Alcmaër, reſigned his government. Eighteen thouſand heretics delivered into the hands of the executioner, in the ſpace of five years, appeared to him a matter of triumph; ſo inſenſible was his ſoul to the voice of humanity, and the mild ſpirit of the goſpel. His ſucceſſors found themſelves unable to heal wounds envenomed by hatred and fanaticiſm. The chiefs of the confederacy implored, in 1575, the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth; offering to acknowledge her as their ſovereign, if ſhe would undertake their defence. She refuſed a ſovereignty, which could not have been maintained without wars too dangerous for her to undertake; ſhe therefore only negociated at the court of Spain in favor of theſe brave republicans. But Philip put the laſt hand to the defection of theſe provinces, by perſiſting in his purpoſe of enſlaving them. They united, in order to free themſelves from a tyranny which was become intolerable.

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The queen no longer feared to declare herſelf. She concluded a treaty with the States, at the ſame time informing the Spaniſh monarch ſhe was not the leſs diſpoſed to cultivate his friendſhip; that he had only to reſtore them to their liberty and privileges; and that, if they afterwards refuſed to return to their obedience, ſhe would join him in order to compel them. Philip diſſembled his reſentment; the war continued; the prince of Parma, the new governor of Flanders, not leſs an able politician than a brave captain, experienced, in ſpite of his ſucceſſes, that inveterate evils became often incurable. A. D. 1578. Elizabeth enters into an alliance with Holland.

Whilſt theſe wars, on pretence of religion, put all Europe into flames, Elizabeth had the addreſs to maintain tranquillity in her kingdom, where the ſame principle of diſcord ought naturally to have produced the ſame effects. Severe and regular in her conduct, ſhe ſupported the church of England, without provoking by perſecution thoſe who refuſed conformity to its worſhip. Father Orleans aſſerts, that the Catholics experienced under her reign *cruelties which were*

never exerciſed but in the ages of tyrants. We ſhall ſee in the courſe of this hiſtory all the ſeverities ſhe really uſed towards them; but it is certain in general, that ſhe ſeveral times ſhut her eyes on their aſſemblies; that ſhe ſhewed leſs indulgence in reſpect to the Puritans; and that ſhe never employed the ſeverity of the laws, but when neceſſary to maintain order and the public tranquillity. If the courts of France and Spain had imitated this conduct, what advantages both in reſpect to church and ſtate would they not have reaped from their moderation?

A. D. 1580. The Iriſh, zealous Catholics, but at that time a people barbarous, ſuperſtitious, and naturally inclined to rebellion, only waited an opportunity to revolt. Philip, who wiſhed to revenge himſelf, without appearing openly an enemy to Elizabeth, ſent, under the name of the pope, a body of troops into Ireland. This enterprize failed of ſucceſs. The foreigners were cut to pieces, and about fifteen hundred Iriſh put to death by order of the governor [x]; a cruel execution,

[x] Lord Gray, the deputy.

which

which highly diſpleaſed the queen. The celebrated navigator Francis Drake did more damage to the Spaniards in the new world. His piracies had enriched him, and his courage braved every ſpecies of danger. Having equipped at his own expence a little fleet of four veſſels, he ſailed from Plymouth in 1577, penetrated into the South-Sea by the Straits of Magellan, poſſeſſed himſelf of immenſe riches, opened to himſelf a paſſage to the Eaſt-Indies, and returned to England by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the firſt Engliſhman who had ſailed round the globe. Philip complained loudly. The queen was perſuaded to diſavow the enterprize, and even to puniſh Drake, who had her conſent for attempting it. This would have been a ſhameful weakneſs. She only ordered reſtitution of ſome part of his ſpoil, to appeaſe the king of Spain; after having replied to his complaints, "that the Spaniards, by arrogating to themſelves an excluſive right to the commerce of the new world, furniſhed other nations with a plauſible pretext for attacking them there."

Drake ſails round the globe.

A. D. 1581. Catholic ſemina-ries.

The finances were exhauſted: which was Elizabeth's only reaſon for aſſembling a parliament. This parliament added to the rigor of the laws againſt the papiſts, whoſe zeal and activity had occaſioned new diſturbances. Philip the ſecond had eſtabliſhed at Doüay a ſeminary, appropriated to the education of Engliſh Catholics, eſpecially thoſe who were intended for orders. The cardinal of Lorrain, in his dioceſe of Rheims, and the pope, in the capital of the Chriſtian world, had founded ſchools of the ſame nature. The jeſuits were the directors of theſe ſchools. It was aſſerted, that they inſpired the young perſons educated there, with the moſt virulent hatred to the queen; that they authorized them to rebel againſt her as an excommunicated princeſs; and that they even made a poſitive duty of reſiſtance, whenever the pope ſhould ordain the execution of this bull. Father Campian, a celebrated Jeſuit, one of the oracles of the papiſts in England, was hanged as guilty of high treaſon. The parliament enacted ſevere penalties againſt thoſe who ſhould ſay, or even hear, maſs; thoſe

thoſe who abſented themſelves from church, or ſpoke ſeditious words againſt Elizabeth. An outrageous and imprudent zeal ever expoſes religion to dangerous ſtorms.

A. D. 1582. Elizabeth deliberates about marrying the duke of Anjou.

The prince of Parma's ſucceſſes in the Low Countries, the ambition of Philip, ſo much the more dangerous as it was diſguiſed under the maſk of zeal for religion, made the queen deſire earneſtly to unite herſelf to France. Propoſals of marriage had been made her by the duke of Alençon, become duke of Anjou by the acceſſion of his brother Henry the third to the throne. They began to treat ſeriouſly on this ſubject. Henry, knowing by experience how deſtructive the reſtleſs, inconſtant, and turbulent diſpoſition of this young prince might prove to the kingdom, already filled with factions, deſired nothing more than to ſee him ſettled in England. The duke came to pay his perſonal addreſſes to the queen, and actually gained her affections. They agreed on the articles of the treaty; that this prince and his retinue ſhould have the free exerciſe of their religion; that he ſhould bear the title of king, but that

the adminiſtration ſhould remain ſolely in the queen; that their children ſhould ſucceed to the crown; that if they had two males, and Henry the third died without poſterity, the eldeſt ſhould be king of France, and the youngeſt of England; that if they ſhould have only one, and he ſhould ſucceed Henry, he ſhould reſide eight months in England every two years; that the laws ſhould be preſerved inviolate, and no ſtranger be admitted to bear any office in the kingdom.

Reaſons againſt the marriage.

Though there was no appearance that Elizabeth, now in her forty-ninth year, would have children by the duke of Anjou, this treaty was a ſource of great uneaſineſs to the Engliſh. She felt all its inconveniences, when paſſion permitted her to reflect. Alternately carried away by love, and reſtrained by intereſt and policy, ſhe ſeveral times changed her purpoſe. A ring, which ſhe took from her finger to put it on that of her lover, was a manifeſt proof of this. Sir Philip Sidney, nephew to Leiceſter, a young man of the moſt exalted merit, ventured to hazard her anger, by oppoſing

poſing with the utmoſt freedom a reſolution ſo contrary to the wiſhes of the nation. He repreſented to her, in a letter equally elegant and judicious, the dangers of this marriage, which would loſe her the affection of her Proteſtant ſubjects, the firmeſt bulwark of her throne. "The Catholics being her mortal enemies, what might not be expected from them, when ſupported by a prince, the ſon of Catherine de Medicis, the brother of Charles the ninth, and himſelf ſtained with the blood of the Hugonots? would *he* remain tamely ſubmiſſive to a woman; *he*, whoſe impetuous raſhneſs and turbulent ambition, had ſo often ſignalized themſelves againſt the king his brother? what would be the diſtruſt, the diſcontent of the Engliſh, if they had reaſon to apprehend ſeeing themſelves continually ſacrificed to foreign intereſts? and what would become of England, if a king of France ſhould ever in his perſon unite the two crowns?" It often happens, that no more is wanting than wiſe counſel to diſpel the miſt of paſſion. Elizabeth was ſtruck by Sidney's letter. After ſe-

veral days of reflexion and uncertainty, ſhe at length broke with the duke. This prince, having, on his return into the Low Countries, where the Flemings had conferred on him the command, attempted to render himſelf maſter of ſome of their towns, was expelled as a traitor and oppreſſor, and retired to France, where he ſoon after died. The blind tenderneſs of the queen for a man more worthy of averſion than love, can only be explained by conſidering the weakneſs of the human heart, which often abaſes heroes, and the moſt ſublime geniuſes, to a level with the vulgar.

Affairs of Scotland.

The affairs of Scotland now fixed all her attention. Till this time, ſhe had been in ſome ſort miſtreſs of that kingdom, by her cloſe connexions with the governing party. But the ſcene ſuddenly changed. The earl of Morton, regent, was compelled to quit his office; the young king, James the ſixth, determined to aſſume the reins of government; and the earls of Lenox and Arran, his miniſters, inſpired him with principles directly oppoſite to thoſe which had lately prevailed. Morton was proſecuted.

He

He confeſſed, that Bothwel had imparted to him the deſign of aſſaſſinating the king, and endeavored to make him an accomplice, by aſſuring him he acted with the approbation of Mary. Condemned to death, as guilty of treaſon, he met his puniſhment with the utmoſt firmneſs. The diſcontent of the clergy, and of the greater part of the nobles, ſoon broke forth. The preachers inveighed againſt the court. Nothing was more eaſy in Scotland than to raiſe an inſurrection amongſt a people equally turbulent and enthuſiaſtic. The conſpirators made themſelves maſters of the perſon of James. He wept: *No matter for his tears*, ſaid one of the leaders [*y*]; *better that boys ſhould weep than bearded men.* Arran was put into priſon; Lenox eſcaped to France; and Elizabeth ſent to compliment the captive king on being delivered from their pernicious counſels. They had diſpoſed him in earneſt to an accommodation with his mother. In this conjuncture, Mary wrote Elizabeth a letter in very ſtrong and affecting

James the ſixth priſoner to his ſubjects.

A. D. 1583.

[*y*] The maſter of Glamis.

terms,

terms, complaining of the ſeverities ſhe had ſo many years ſuffered; deprived even of the free exerciſe of her religion, and the power of holding any correſpondence with her only ſon, whoſe captivity filled up the meaſure of her misfortunes. Overwhelmed with ſorrows, weakened by her ſufferings, ſhe now only deſired a little liberty, and was ready for that to ſacrifice her rights and her crown. The queen pretended to negotiate a treaty, though ſhe dreaded its conſequences; Mary's hopes once more vaniſhed into air. James, however, eſcaped out of the hands of his oppreſſors, reſumed his authority by the aſſiſtance of his friends, recalled the earl of Arran, a man without either virtue or moderation; and imprudently expoſed himſelf to ſhare the hatred which this miniſter ſo juſtly merited.

A. D. 1584. Conſpiracy againſt Elizabeth.

All Elizabeth's prudence could not prevent conſpiracies againſt her. The zeal of the papiſts fermented under conſtraint; Mary's partizans burned to deliver her. By the vigilance and quick-ſightedneſs of the queen's miniſters, ſeveral plots were diſcovered, where the name of this unhappy princeſs

princeſs was always employed; either becauſe ſhe really animated them to theſe attempts, as was ſuſpected with great appearance of probability; or becauſe this attachment to her and her religion cauſed them, without her knowledge, to fail in their duty as ſubjects and citizens. The queen was as much beloved by the Proteſtants, as ſhe was hated by the Catholics. They formed a kind of aſſociation for her defence; and the parliament, which ſhe ſummoned, ſet no bounds to its zeal. The houſes even authorized her to name commiſſioners, to judge and condemn whoever ſhould pretend to the crown, or contrive any attempt againſt her perſon: they baniſhed the jeſuits and other popiſh prieſts the kingdom; declaring them guilty of high treaſon, if they continued in it or returned; the ſame ſentence was paſſed againſt thoſe who were educated in the ſeminaries, unleſs they returned by a time preſcribed, and made the neceſſary ſubmiſſions. From this time, the Romiſh religion met with little toleration. The laws were rigorouſly executed; fifty prieſts ſuffered death in the

the ſpace of ten years. Mr. Hume diſapproves this exceſs of ſeverity; and judiciouſly obſerves, that this was not the moſt probable method of reconciling the minds of the diſcontented, either to the government or the national religion. The lower houſe, compoſed, in a great meaſure, of Puritans, deſired a reformation in the public worſhip, as a point of all others moſt important to the kingdom. But, fearing to offend the queen, they addreſſed their petition with great humility to the upper houſe; a ſtep which evinces how abſolute was the authority maintained by Elizabeth, and how far the commons were then from avowing the principles which have ſince acquired them ſuch dignity and power.

High commiſſion court.

Their petition principally regarded a new eccleſiaſtical court, called *The High Commiſſion Court*, eſtabliſhed the preceding year; an arbitrary tribunal, which may be ranked amongſt the greateſt abuſes of deſpotiſm. The whole kingdom was ſubject to its juriſdiction. The commiſſioners, forty-four in number, had authority to try error, hereſy, and all caſes reſpecting faith

faith or worſhip. They were empowered to employ the moſt odious and illegal methods to diſcover the guilty; in particular the oath *ex officio*, by which the ſuppoſed criminal was obliged to anſwer all interrogatories, even to the accuſing of himſelf, his relation, or neareſt friend. They were authorized to puniſh concubinage, inceſt, adultery, and every kind of irregularity reſpecting marriage. Their will alone determined the mode of puniſhment, the execution of which no other court had power to ſtop; and the preſence of only three of theſe judges was neceſſary in order to pronounce ſentences of ſo formidable a nature. In one word, the inquiſition, ſo much decried by Proteſtants, and ſo much deteſted even in many Catholic countries, ſeems to have been the model of this tribunal; a tribunal contradictory to every rational principle of legiſlation. It was thus Elizabeth exerciſed her ſupremacy, at the expence of the natural rights of mankind. Princes, too jealous of their own authority, paſs eaſily over the juſt bounds they ought to preſcribe to themſelves.

Though

Though the commons had carried their circumſpection even to weakneſs, the queen, after having thanked them for their zeal for the ſafety of her perſon, made them ſome reproaches on their indiſcreet preſumption. She told them, that being intruſted by God himſelf with the government of the church, one of her principal cares ought to be that of baniſhing error and ſchiſm; that ſhe would never ſuffer the licentiouſneſs of thoſe who, from a ſlight examination of ſcripture, took upon them to introduce innovations; and that ſhe knew perfectly well how to keep the juſt mean between the ſuperſtitions of Rome, and the enthuſiaſm of the new ſectaries. The beſt-eſtabliſhed authority has, however, ſo little influence over religious prejudices, that about five hundred of the Puritan clergy privately ſubſcribed a book of diſcipline conformable to their principles; and the force of the laws was inſufficient to prevent Preſbyterianiſm from taking root in the boſom of the Engliſh church.

Attempt againſt the queen's life.

About this time, was diſcovered a conſpiracy of the moſt horrible nature againſt

againſt the life of Elizabeth. William Parry, a gentleman profeſſing the Romiſh faith, having obtained his pardon for a capital crime, had retired into Italy. He there conceived the deſign of killing the queen; and ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, that the good of the church ſanctified ſuch an attempt. He wrote to the pope, received from cardinal Como a favorable anſwer, and ſet out on his return, in order to execute this parricide. Remorſe made him heſitate; for even fanaticiſm does not always ſtifle the voice of conſcience. Encouraged by a new work wrote by Allen, an Engliſhman, afterwards cardinal, he was preparing with redoubled ardor to execute his deſign, when Nevil, his accomplice and his relation, was led by a motive of intereſt to accuſe him. Parry confeſſed all, and ſubmitted to the ſtroke of the executioner. It is aſſerted, that an Italian jeſuit, and two of the pope's nuncios, had firſt inſpired him with this deſign; the blackneſs of which had been repreſented to him by a ſecond jeſuit, and ſome other prieſts of more enlarged ſentiments. The doctrine

doctrine of tyrannicide was at that time publicly taught; a doctrine the more atrocious, as thoſe of the Romiſh communion gave the name of tyrant to every prince excommunicated or accuſed of hereſy, even were he the moſt juſt and wiſe of humankind. Theſe ſanguinary counſels occaſioned the aſſaſſination of many great and excellent men. The prince of Orange had periſhed by the hand of Balthazar Gerard, who thought he purchaſed a celeſtial crown, by ſacrificing his life in ſo meritorious a cauſe.

A. D. 1585. Elizabeth undertakes the defence of the United Provinces.

This event ſpread terror and confuſion over the Low Countries, where the duke of Parma re-eſtabliſhed Philip's authority. The States offered the ſovereignty of theſe provinces to the king of France; and the weakneſs of Henry the third having made him loſe this opportunity of aggrandizing himſelf, they renewed their offer to Elizabeth. The affair was of a very delicate nature; opinions were divided in the council: ſome regarded the Flemings as rebels, whoſe reſiſtance to their prince could not be authorized without injuſtice; and whoſe propoſal, if accepted, would

ſubject

ſubject the kingdom to dangers, for which this uncertain ſovereignty would not compenſate. Others repreſented the immoderate ambition of the king of Spain, his tyranny in the Low Countries, his implacable averſion to Elizabeth; that the war was inevitable; and that the acquiſition of theſe provinces, with the efforts of this oppreſſed and courageous people, would leſſen the danger, and procure England conſiderable reſources. The queen, always leſs enterprizing than circumſpect in her conduct, determined to hold a middle courſe. She refuſed the offer made her, that ſhe might not expoſe herſelf to the reproach of uſurpation; but ſhe concluded with the States a defenſive league, engaging to ſend them a reinforcement of ſix thouſand men, and to maintain them herſelf during the war; and it was agreed to make no peace but with mutual conſent. The earl of Leiceſter was appointed general; the States loaded him with honors, and treated him with the reſpect due to a ſovereign; a circumſtance which diſpleaſed the queen, notwith-

notwithſtanding her paſſion for this favorite.

Great power of Philip the ſecond.

Philip the ſecond was the moſt formidable monarch of Europe: maſter of Portugal, which he had ſeized, poſſeſſor of the treaſures of America, arbiter in ſome meaſure of the court of Rome, and the other Catholic courts, protector of the league in France; and converting to the purpoſes of his inſatiable ambition, every ſpring as well of religion, as of the moſt refined policy. The idea entertained of his power, cauſed the king of Sweden to ſay, when informed of Elizabeth's treaty with the States General, "that ſhe had now indeed taken the crown from her head." But ſhe ſhewed as much intrepidity in danger, as prudence and caution in her counſels. Admiral Drake was ſent to America; where he took from the Spaniards, St. Domingo, Carthagena, and ſome other places. A great number of Engliſh adventurers embarked for the new world, become ſince one of the principal ſources of the wealth of England. Leiceſter, whoſe merit was not proportioned to the ſhare he poſſeſſed of

of the queen's favor, had leſs ſucceſs in the Low Countries. His country here loſt the celebrated Sir Philip Sidney, a man who joined all the talents which genius could beſtow to the ſublime heroiſm of the virtues. Mortally wounded in an action, parched with the moſt raging thirſt, which he had the power of relieving by ſome water which was preſented to him, he gave it to a ſoldier, whom he ſaw expiring at his ſide: "this man," ſaid he, "has ſtill more occaſion for it than me."

Death of Sidney.

In a conjuncture ſo critical, it was of extreme importance to Elizabeth to ſecure the friendſhip of the king of Scotland. Wotton, her ambaſſador, managed with ſuch dexterity the temper of James, by appearing to breathe only pleaſure, that he gained his intire confidence, and diſcovered all the ſecrets of his council. This miniſter at length formed a project of putting him into the queen's hands, who certainly would not have been ſorry for ſuch an event, though ſhe was ignorant of the deſign. This treachery having been diſcovered, Wotton fled. The negotiations were

A. D. 1586. Treaty with the king of Scotland.

notwithſtanding renewed: a treaty was concluded for the common ſecurity of the two kingdoms, and of the Proteſtant religion; for the young king, ſeparated from his mother at two years of age, had been educated in the principles of the Reformation. His particular intereſt co-incided with that of Elizabeth. The treaty provided for his ſecurity, not only againſt the dangers of an invaſion, but againſt domeſtic diſturbances, which were the more to be apprehended in Scotland, as the fanaticiſm of the Preſbyterian preachers braved the authority of the king, the parliament, and the church. They had the audacity to excommunicate the archbiſhop of St. Andrew's, becauſe he endeavored to bridle their licentiouſneſs; and this primate of the kingdom was reduced to the neceſſity of renouncing his whole eccleſiaſtical authority.

Conſpiracy of the Catholics.

The Catholics carried ſtill farther their animoſity againſt Elizabeth. Her laſt laws had inflamed their zeal. The doctrine of tyrannicide could not fail of encouraging aſſaſſins, to attempt the life of this implacable enemy of the church. The Engliſh ſeminary

minary at Rheims was, it is ſaid, the place where this plan was originally laid. A prieſt, named Ballard, who belonged to the houſe, went into England with the reſolution of putting Elizabeth to death. He inſpired with the ſame fury Anthony Babington, a young man of family, well educated, of an excellent capacity, and an uncommon ſhare of literature, with ſufficient courage to aſpire to the glory of delivering a captive queen; ſuſceptible, in ſhort, of that falſe zeal, which thinks every thing lawful in defence of religion. This gentleman brought into the conſpiracy ſeveral Catholics of good birth. They agreed to aſſaſſinate the queen of England, to reſtore Mary at the ſame time to liberty, to place her on the throne, and re-eſtabliſh the Romiſh religion. Babington having wrote to Mary, to communicate to her this project, received an anſwer which contained the moſt formal approbation, with the moſt liberal promiſes of recompence. Fortunately Elizabeth had a miniſter, Sir Francis Walſingham, whoſe genius, capacity, prudence, and addreſs, equalled his zeal for her ſer-

Walſingham.

vice, and whoſe cares preſerved her from the danger which threatened her. By means of his ſpies, he diſcovered the ſecret, followed the conſpirators through all their machinations, facilitated Babington's correſpondence with the queen of Scots, intercepted the letters, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the proofs neceſſary to convict the criminals. They were arreſted. Fourteen were executed, ſeven of whom confeſſed their crime. The council deliberated on the ſteps proper to be taken in reſpect to Mary. Some adviſed to leave her in perpetual impriſonment; Leiceſter propoſed to poiſon her; Walſingham, and the majority, inſiſted on bringing her to an open trial. The tranquillity of the kingdom, as well as their perſonal ſafety, gave weight to this opinion, which prevailed, though contrary to the rights of crowned heads [z].

[z] It was ſo uncommon a caſe to try a foreign queen, who came not in arms into the kingdom, but to ſeek for refuge as a ſuppliant, that it would have been in vain to ſearch in all the ancient ſtatutes after any thing which might ſerve for ground to ſuch a proceeding. This

There

There are few ſcenes in hiſtory ſo tragical as that of which we are now going to collect the principal circumſtances.

The trial of Mary Stuart.

Forty commiſſioners, choſen for this important trial, came to Fotheringay Caſtle, where Mary was then confined, and notified to her their commiſſion. She replied with firmneſs, "that, being an independent ſovereign, ſhe would never acknowledge them as her judges; that ſhe had reſided involuntarily and by force in England, without receiving the protection of the laws of the country, and, conſequently, without being ſubject to them; that, if they perſiſted in violating all the rules of juſtice to condemn her, ſhe ſhould be revenged by the judgement of the whole world, where her innocence would triumph on a theatre infinitely more extenſive than a ſingle kingdom." The vice-chamberlain, Sir Chriſtopher Hatton,

gives occaſion to preſume, that when *this act* was made the laſt year, the queen of Scots death was already determined, and that this ſtatute was to ſerve to ground her ſentence upon. RAPIN.

perſuaded her, by the moſt artful reaſonings, to yield to neceſſity. "She could not," he told her, "avoid this trial; a refuſal to reply would be in ſome ſort a confeſſion of the crime: that her judges, full of honor and integrity, wiſhed nothing ſo much as to find her innocent; and that Elizabeth eſpecially would be happy to have thoſe ſuſpicions removed, which now pierced her with the moſt lively ſorrow." This diſcourſe determined Mary to appear; an extreme imprudence, of which ſhe ſoon repented. She renewed her proteſtation againſt the authority of her judges, and yet had the weakneſs and inconſiſtency to enter on her defence.

Defence of Mary. Proofs againſt her.

Being accuſed of having offered to cede to the king of Spain her rights on England, if her ſon was not converted, ſhe did not deign to juſtify herſelf on this article; ſhe only replied, "that ſhe had no kingdoms at her diſpoſal, but that ſhe had a right to give whatever was her own, and was accountable to no one for her actions." There are very ſtrong proofs of the deſign ſhe had formed of diſ-

inheriting her ſon as a heretic. The laſt treaty of this prince with Elizabeth had embittered her prejudices againſt him; and her maternal tenderneſs was weakened by time, by reſentment, and by zeal. It was neceſſary to prove, what was the capital article of the accuſation, that Mary had given her conſent to the deſign of aſſaſſinating the queen. She conſtantly denied the fact. The evidence of her two ſecretaries, who ſwore, without being put to the torture, that ſhe had received Babington's letters, and had anſwered them; the confeſſion of Babington himſelf to the ſame effect; the copies of intercepted letters in Walſingham's hands, appeared proofs certain and deciſive. If we reflect on the enterprizing character of Mary, on the hard treatment ſhe had met with, on her hatred to Elizabeth, on the prevailing doctrine of tyrannicide, and the eſtabliſhed opinion, that the moſt violent methods were lawful againſt a prince excommunicated by the pope, and in actual rebellion againſt the Romiſh church, we ſhall eaſily believe this princeſs might have entered into a

conſpiracy every way ſo advantageous to herſelf. Several very plauſible reaſons render it more than probable. That Mary's two ſecretaries carried on the correſpondence with Babington without her concurrence, or that they betrayed her now without having ever before been guilty of the leaſt infidelity, or that Walſingham, a miniſter of the moſt ſpotleſs integrity, had forged the letters, and counterfeited her hand-writing, are ſuppoſitions very difficult to ſupport. She demanded that the ſecretaries ſhould be confronted with her; affirming, that they would not, in her preſence, perſiſt in their evidence. However conformable this demand was to the principles of natural equity, yet in caſes of high treaſon, it was unauthorized by the laws and cuſtoms of England; and the judges in ſuch caſes were cautious not to admit of the leaſt indulgence. The proceedings being finiſhed, the commiſſioners returned to London, and there pronounced ſentence of death againſt Mary, after having examined the ſecretaries upon oath, who willingly atteſted the authenticity of the letters produced. Eliza-

Elizabeth was now at the height of her wiſhes; but, too artful to ſuffer her joy to appear, ſhe affected to intereſt herſelf warmly in the fate of an unfortunate relation, all whoſe injuries and attempts againſt herſelf ſhe would gladly have pardoned, if ſhe had had leſs at heart the ſafety of her people. A new parliament was ſummoned, that ſhe might appear to yield only to the voice of her people, whilſt ſatisfying her own implacable hatred. The two houſes confirmed the ſentence againſt Mary, and ſolicited its execution with all the ardor which could have been deſired. The queen ſupported the character ſhe had aſſumed, made a parade of humanity, affected an hypocritical moderation, promiſed nothing, and left all minds in uncertainty as to her true ſentiments. The court of France and the king of Scotland interpoſed vigorouſly in Mary's favor. It is pretended, that Henry the third, juſtly irritated againſt the Guiſes, wiſhed the execution of their niece [*b*]; and that the maſter of

[*b*] It is pretended, that Bellievre, the French ambaſſador, had orders, after publicly remon-

Gray, one of James's miniſters, gained by this princeſs's enemies, entered into Elizabeth's views, and quickened her reſentment. However this may be, neither remonſtrances, prayers, nor menaces, could ſhake the inflexible ſoul of Elizabeth. The courtiers and miniſters ſtrongly oppoſed thoſe reaſons which might have inclined her to heſitate. They inſiſted on the diſturbances, the conſpiracies, which the queen of Scotland had excited; they obſerved, that ſhe had forfeited the rank to which ſhe was born; that beſides, by virtue of the law of nature, every man, much more every ſovereign (a maxim this eaſy to be abuſed), might do himſelf juſtice on an enemy who ſought his life; they added, that every danger was to be apprehended from the Catholics, whilſt Mary ſupported their hopes; that things were come to that point, that the death of one of the two princeſſes was abſolutely neceſſary to the other; and that, in this extremity, prudence

ſtrating againſt Mary's execution, to adviſe the queen privately, in his maſter's name, not to defer an act of juſtice ſo neceſſary to their common intereſts.

and

and juſtice demanded Mary's execution.

Theſe arguments were inſufficient to juſtify a barbarous action, of which the neceſſity was far from being evident. But the queen, without diſcovering it, in her heart breathed only vengeance. Her duplicity enveloped itſelf in new artifices. Reports of an invaſion, of an inſurrection, of an aſſaſſination, were dextrouſly propagated. The minds of the people being heated to the degree ſhe wiſhed, Elizabeth ſigned the order for Mary's execution; and ordered Daviſon, the ſecretary of ſtate, a man eaſy to be deceived, to carry it to the chancellor, aſſuring him ſhe had no intention to make uſe of it, but in caſe of new attempts. When the chancellor had affixed the ſeals, the miniſters, who eaſily penetrated the queen's intentions, perſuaded Daviſon to ſend off the warrant, addreſſed to the earls of Shrewſbury and Kent.

A. D. 1587. Execution of Mary.

The ſentence had been already notified to Mary; and ſhe had been told, the parliament demanded her execution for the ſecurity of their religion: far from appearing moved,

ſhe replied with a joyful air, "that, ſince the Proteſtants demanded her death for the ſecurity of their faith, ſhe was a martyr to the true religion, a circumſtance in which ſhe gloried." This heroic firmneſs did not deſert her one ſingle moment. The two earls informing her ſhe muſt die the next morning; "I could not have believed," ſaid ſhe, with a ſmiling countenance, "that the queen, my ſiſter, would have conſented to my death: but as ſuch is her will, death, which puts an end to all my miſeries, ſhall be to me moſt welcome; nor can I eſteem that ſoul worthy the felicities of heaven, which cannot ſupport the body under the horrors of the laſt paſſage to theſe bliſsful manſions." To the exerciſes of a courageous piety, ſhe joined the tendereſt care and attention to her domeſtics. After having diſtributed rewards amongſt them proportioned to their ſervices, and written in their favor to the duke of Guiſe, ſhe requeſted they might be preſent at her execution. The earl of Kent, with ſome degree of harſhneſs, refuſed her. Touched with this refuſal, "I am couſin," ſaid ſhe, "to your

your queen, and deſcended from the blood royal of Henry the ſeventh, and a married queen of France, and an anointed queen of Scotland:" expreſſions very ſtriking in this ſhocking conjuncture! They granted her ſome of her ſervants, but ſhe could not obtain leave for her confeſſor to be preſent. She was obliged to ſuffer the inſulting exhortations of the dean of Peterborough, who threatened her with eternal damnation, if ſhe did not acknowledge the juſtice of her ſentence, abjure the Romiſh faith, and take advantage of the queen's zeal for her ſalvation. "Trouble not yourſelf," ſaid ſhe, ſeveral times with great warmth, "any more about the matter: for I was born in this religion, I have lived in this religion, and in this religion I am reſolved to die." A crucifix, which ſhe had in her hands, drew on her another reproach. The earl of Kent wiſhed to detach her from that *popiſh ſuperſtition*, as he called it; and told her, *ſhe ought to carry Chriſt, not in her hand, but in her heart.* She replied, "that it was difficult to have ſuch an object in her hand, without feeling her heart af-

fected by it." At length, amidſt the tears and gloomy ſilence of the ſpectators, ſhe calmly ſubmitted to the ſtroke of death. The dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So periſh all queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The earl of Kent alone cried, *Amen.*

Such was the end of Mary Stuart, at the age of forty-four years, after having been eighteen years a priſoner in England; a princeſs of exquiſite beauty, and exalted underſtanding, endowed with the moſt ſublime qualities, unhappily drawn to the precipice by dangerous attachments and fatal conjunctures; but worthy, notwithſtanding her weakneſſes, of a great part of the encomiums which have been too profuſely laviſhed on her. Her connexion with a man of Bothwel's profligate character, was the effect of a blind and headſtrong paſſion, and the ſource of an inexcuſable conduct. Elizabeth's rigorous treatment of her ſeemed to authorize her, not to conſpire her death, but to form projects for her own deliverance. In ſhort, the contradictory judgements of authors, in reſpect to this unfortunate princeſs, are a leſſon to us to regard

regard nothing as certain, which is not proved by reaſon, or by unqueſtionable evidence.

When Elizabeth was informed of Mary's execution, ſhe appeared appalled, aſtoniſhed, tranſported with grief and indignation. No perſon dared to approach her: ſhe accuſed her miniſters, ſhe chaced them from her preſence. She wrote a very pathetic letter to the king of Scotland, taking heaven to witneſs, that ſhe had reſolved to ſpare the life of Mary. She had Daviſon arreſted, and ordered him to be tried for this offence. Impriſonment and a ruinous fine were the rewards of his ſervices. The queen's hypocriſy deceived nobody. It was well known, that it coſt her no pains to diſſemble. Daviſon declared [c], that the very day on which the order for the execution was ſigned and ſent to the chancellor, ſhe was in ſo good a humor, that ſhe ſaid to him in a tone of pleaſantry, "Go tell all this to Walſingham, who is now ſick; Behavior of Elizabeth, and of the king of Scotland.

[c] In a private apology to his friend Walſingham, which contains many curious particulars.

though

though I fear he will die for ſorrow when he hears it." When the king of Scotland was informed of the melancholy fate of his mother, he broke out into complaints and menaces, and abandoned himſelf to the moſt violent reſolutions. A great part of the nobility ſeemed to deſire war with ardor. Whilſt the court was in mourning, lord Sinclair preſented himſelf there, completely armed; ſaying, "that was the proper mourning for the queen." This firſt heat having had time to abate, the Engliſh miniſter ſucceeded in his attempt to diſpel the ſtorm. A letter from Walſingham made James's miniſters ſenſible how dangerous to Scotland a rupture with England at this time would be; the inconveniences to which they would expoſe the kingdom by calling in aſſiſtance, whether from France or Spain; and the great intereſt James had, not to provoke the Engliſh nation at the riſk of loſing the hope of one day ſucceeding to their crown. The king, equally weak and pacific, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded, and, by degrees, forgot his reſentment.

Philip the ſecond, a much more formidable enemy, meditated an invaſion of England. But the marine of Elizabeth dared to brave the ſovereign of the new world. Drake attacked a Spaniſh fleet in the harbor of Cadiz, burned a veſſel [*d*] loaded with proviſions for the immenſe armament which was preparing at Liſbon, inſulted this laſt city, and made in a ſhort time very conſiderable prizes. Thomas Cavendiſh, a gentleman who had ruined himſelf at court, equipped three ſmall veſſels to repair his broken fortune, and, after having traverſed the South-Seas with the greateſt ſucceſs, re-entered the Thames in triumph. His mariners and ſoldiers were clothed in ſilk, his ſails were of damaſk, the top-ſails cloth of gold, and his whole booty proportioned to this magnificence. The emulation with which this ſucceſs inſpired other adventurers may eaſily be imagined. The bad

Maritime expeditions.

[*d*] He obliged ſix gallies, which made head againſt him, to take ſhelter under the forts; he burned about an hundred veſſels, laden with ammunition and naval ſtores; and deſtroyed a great ſhip of the marquis of Santa Croce. HUME.

conduct,

conduct, the imperious haughtineſs of Leiceſter, on the other ſide, created great diſcontent in the Hollanders. Notwithſtanding his favor with the queen, he was recalled; and the young prince of Orange, Maurice, appointed governor of the United Provinces, ſhewed himſelf in a ſhort time worthy of his father.

A. D. 1588. Armada.

Though Philip had not yet declared war againſt Elizabeth, he prepared to revenge himſelf, and even formed a deſign to conquer her kingdoms. This ambitious and hypocritical monarch affected to paſs for the defender of religion, whilſt attacking the rights of nations and of crowns. Pope Sixtus the fifth, as fond of dominion as himſelf, excited him to undertake ſo glorious a conqueſt, after having excommunicated the queen, and publiſhed a cruſade againſt her, with the uſual indulgences. All the ports of Naples, of Sicily, of Spain, and of Portugal, had contributed to the immenſe preparations of this expedition; and the *Invincible Armada* (the name given to this fleet by the Spaniards) ſeemed able to annihilate the power it ſhould attack. The magna-

magnanimity of Elizabeth ſhewed itſelf in full light on this occaſion. Foreſeeing the danger which threatened her, far from giving way to fear, or to timid counſels, ſhe thought only of the means to repel ſo ſuperior an enemy. Her fleet conſiſted of no more than twenty-eight veſſels, moſt of them very ſmall. She cauſed a great number to be built. The maritime towns, the nobles, and gentry, emulouſly diſplayed their zeal. London furniſhed thirty veſſels, inſtead of fifteen which had been demanded of them. Even the Catholics, notwithſtanding the pope's bull, being treated with mildneſs, though they had taken care to render their religion more odious than ever, delivered themſelves to the ſentiments of patriotiſm, of which ſeveral amongſt them gave the moſt ſhining proofs. The land forces were more numerous than thoſe of Spain; and though very inferior in experience and diſcipline, they were ready to ſacrifice their lives for the preſervation of their liberty and laws. The queen animated their courage by her preſence. She appeared on horſeback at the camp at

Courage and prudence of Elizabeth.

at Tilbury; harangued her troops, expreſſed her intire confidence in them, and aſſured them the weakneſs of her ſex ſhould not prevent her marching at their head; that ſhe would be a witneſs of their actions, and herſelf reward them; that ſhe would periſh on the field of battle, rather than ſurvive the ruin and the ſlavery of her people. "I know," ſaid ſhe, "that I have only the arm of a woman; but I have the heart of a king, and, what is more, of a king of England." A ſpecies of enthuſiaſm tranſported the hearts of her ſoldiers, and every one felt himſelf inſpired with the noble ardor of this heroine.

The Invincible Armada deſtroyed. 29th May.

The *Invincible Armada*, retarded by the death of the marquis of Santa Croce, its admiral, ſet ſail from Liſbon about the end of May, met with a tempeſt, which again delayed it till July, and put to ſea at length under the command of the duke of Medina Sidonia, a nobleman utterly unexperienced in maritime affairs. An hundred and thirty veſſels, of which an hundred were of an extraordinay ſize, carried near twenty thouſand ſoldiers, more than eight thouſand mariners,

mariners, and two thouſand ſix hundred great pieces of cannon, with proviſions for ſix months. The duke of Parma, on his ſide, was to land in England with the beſt troops of Spain. This terrible armament was unſucceſsful; ſo frail are human hopes, and ſo much the ſport of fortune! The Spaniſh fleet was ſeen advancing under full ſail towards Plymouth, extending ſeven miles from one extremity to the other; a ſpectacle hitherto unknown on the ocean, and calculated to excite equal admiration and terror. The Engliſh admiral, Effingham, gave orders to cannonade theſe heavy machines, ill managed by unexperienced pilots and mariners. The Engliſh manner of working ſhips, greatly ſuperior to that of the Spaniards, drew an advantage even from the ſmallneſs of their veſſels. The enemy was ſeveral times defeated; and the duke of Parma, having only tranſport ſhips, refuſed to expoſe his troops. A violent tempeſt completed the ruin of the *Invincible Armada*, on its return by the Orkneys. Not a moiety returned into the ports of Spain. Hiſtorians recount, that Philip, when informed

formed of theſe diſaſters, fell on his knees, to thank heaven for having ſaved him from ſtill greater loſſes [e]; and that the Spaniſh prieſts, diſconcerted at an event ſo contrary to their predictions, found a very plain and natural reaſon, which was, their allowing the Mooriſh Infidels to remain in a Catholic kingdom.

A. D. 1589. Nothing is more ſeducing than victory. It ſo elated the hearts of the Engliſh, that they formed a deſign to conquer Portugal from Philip, and give it to a baſtard of the houſe of Braganza [f]. About twenty thouſand volunteers took arms; the queen furniſhed only ſix ſhips of war, and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling. This romantic ill-concerted expedition failed, for want of money to

[e] This is Camden's account. But, according to Anthony Coppley, a fugitive gentleman in thoſe times, when the news was brought to Philip, being at maſs, "He ſwore (after maſs was over), that he would waſte and conſume his crown even to the value of a candleſtic (which he pointed to, ſtanding on the altar), but either he would ruin her majeſty and England, or elſe himſelf and Spain become tributary to her." (STRYPE.) RAPIN.

[f] Don Antonio, prior of Crato.

purchaſe

purchaſe a ſufficient quantity of proviſions and other neceſſaries. The court of Spain had time to take its meaſures. The Portugueſe were diſarmed, and Liſbon put in a ſtate of defence. The Engliſh got poſſeſſion of the ſuburbs: but, unprovided with ammunition and proviſions, worn out with fatigue, conſumed by ſickneſs, they were obliged to retire, after having committed great ravages. The parliament was aſſembled this year, and granted the queen a double ſubſidy. She renewed her prohibition of their interference in affairs of religion, of which the enthuſiaſm of the Puritans never loſt ſight. She imperiouſly ſilenced the commons, who wanted to reſtrain the right of *purveyance*; by virtue of which, the officers of the crown took at diſcretion, for her ſervice, or rather under the pretext of her ſervice, ſuch proviſions and carriages as they thought neceſſary. The price was fixed, much below the current price; and the payment was always diſtant and uncertain. From hence aroſe enormous abuſes [g]. Elizabeth promiſed to

Right of purveyance.

[g] The queen was going to leave Windſor.

regulate

regulate the future exercise of this right, but supported with the utmost haughtiness this ancient prerogative of her crown. The parliament yielded, as it had always been accustomed. It abolished, under the following reign, this right of *purveyance*, and every other which appeared incompatible with liberty.

Affairs of France. The league.

The queen at length enjoyed a tranquil situation. Her dangerous rival was no more; James, encompassed in Scotland with factions, having only a precarious and limited authority, and naturally fond of repose, far from being able to give disquiet to England, saw himself interested to maintain a good correspondence with this nation; and Philip was not enough inclined to hazardous enterprizes, to attempt new

A carter had been three times there, according to the orders he had received, in order to carry away part of her wardrobe. The third time, they told him the journey was laid aside. The carter, in great anger, said, *I see now, the queen is a woman as well as my wife.* Elizabeth heard him from the window, and sent him some money (three angels) to soften his resentment. This custom was subject to many other inconveniences.

invasions.

invaſions. In this favorable conjuncture, Elizabeth might ſafely become the ſupport of the Hugonots, perſecuted by the league. The duke of Guiſe, more abſolute than Henry the third, had forced him to take arms againſt them, and againſt the king of Navarre, the preſumptive heir to the crown. This latter prince obtained great ſums from the queen, and, in 1587, gained the battle of Contras; he was unable to preſerve his advantage, becauſe the Germans, who were coming to his aſſiſtance, were defeated by the duke of Guiſe. A ſeries of unforeſeen events changed the face of the kingdom. Henry the third cauſed this great general, this ambitious ſubject, whoſe tyranny he had ſo long experienced, to be aſſaſſinated [*b*]. The members of the league became more furious and more formidable than ever. To reſiſt their violence, he at length united with the hero whom they had compelled him to purſue as an enemy. Aſſaſ-

[*b*] At Blois, whither he had drawn him, on pretence of conſulting with the ſtates on the proper means of carrying on the war.

ſinated

ſinated himſelf by James Clement, the worthy inſtrument of the fanaticiſm of the leaguers, he left to the king of Navarre, known afterwards under the name of Henry the fourth, a throne to conquer, and ſubjects to ſubdue. Elizabeth ſeveral times ſent him troops, who ſignalized themſelves under his command. The famous ſieges of Paris and Rouën, which the duke of Parma had the glory of obliging Henry to raiſe, diſappointed the queen's hopes [*i*]. She appeared a little diſcontented with her ally, and complained that he expoſed the Engliſh troops too much; a reproach, undoubtedly, occaſioned by the valor of theſe troops, and eſpecially of the officers, who, under the command of the young earl of Eſſex, ran eagerly to danger and to glory. Some new maritime expeditions againſt Spain did honor to the nation, without

[*i*] This year the nation ſuffered a great loſs, by the death of Sir Francis Walſingham, ſecretary of ſtate; a man equally celebrated for his abilities and integrity: he had paſſed through many employments, had been very frugal in his expences, yet died ſo poor, that his family was obliged to give him a private burial. HUME.

bringing

bringing it any ſolid advantage. Mr. Hume here relates a fact which ſeems a little incredible, that they took on board two Spaniſh veſſels a prodigious quantity of bulls for indulgences, which had coſt the king of Spain three hundred thouſand florins, but which would have been worth to him five millions in America.

The expence of theſe expeditions amounted to near a million two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. All the œconomy of Elizabeth was inſufficient to ſupport ſo immenſe a burthen without the aid of parliament. Whatever occaſion ſhe had for their aſſiſtance, ſhe affected an extreme haughtineſs in her behaviour. The ſpeaker of the lower houſe having demanded, according to cuſtom, for the members, freedom from arreſts, liberty of ſpeech, and acceſs to her perſon, ſhe replied to him, by the mouth of the lord keeper, that they had nothing to fear, provided they did not abuſe their privileges; that they might ſpeak freely, whilſt they confined themſelves to giving their ſuffrages by a *yes* or a *no*; but that their liberty ought not be extended farther;

A. D. 1593. Elizabeth treats the parliament with haughtineſs.

that ſhe ſhould not forbid their acceſs to her perſon on grave and preſſing affairs, at a convenient time, and when the cares of government would allow her to give them admiſſion. Some Puritans had, however, the courage to inſiſt, in the houſe, on the abuſes of the high commiſſion court. The queen immediately ſent for the ſpeaker, told him ſhe had only ſummoned this parliament for two purpoſes; to eſtabliſh a more perfect uniformity in matters of religion, and to provide for the defence of the kingdom againſt the exorbitant power of the king of Spain; that their deliberations ought to turn on theſe points; that ſhe was highly offended at the preſumption of thoſe who had dared to enter on other ſubjects; and that ſhe now repeated her orders againſt any future temerity of the ſame nature. The perſon who had made the motion in the houſe of commons was, in conſequence of this, ſent to priſon [*k*]. A very ſevere law was paſſed againſt non-conformiſts: all perſons,

[*k*] Morrice, an attorney of the court of wards.

above

above the age of ſixteen, who obſtinately refuſed, during a month, to aſſiſt at divine ſervice, were to be impriſoned; if they perſiſted three months in this refuſal, to be compelled to quit the kingdom; and if they returned from baniſhment, to ſuffer death. Catholics and Puritans had equal reaſon to complain of this law, which under another government would probably have excited a civil war. But the imperious Elizabeth had reduced her people to ſubmiſſion, as much by fear as by the eſteem with which ſhe inſpired them. The commons, though treated with ſuch provoking haughtineſs, made no difficulty of granting her two ſubſidies, and four fifteenths. This ſum not appearing equal to the public occaſions, they found a ſingular method of augmenting it. The upper houſe declared it could not conſent to this bill, becauſe inſufficient in the preſent conjuncture, and propoſed to add a third ſubſidy, and two fifteenths. The commons were at firſt diſpleaſed with a ſtep which wounded their privileges. Reſpect or timidity made them at length conſent to what was deſired.

Conversion of Henry the fourth.

Henry the fourth, with all his heroic qualities, with the virtues moſt calculated to gain hearts, was unable to triumph over the fury of a faction, rendered by falſe zeal inflexible in rebellion. The leaguers were reſolved to receive a king from the hands of the pope and the Spaniards. Even thoſe Catholics who continued faithful, threatened to abandon their monarch if he any longer deferred his converſion. The wiſeſt amongſt his Proteſtant counſellors agreed with him as to the neceſſity of ſatisfying them. Henry at length abjured Calviniſm, either from conviction, or, as was generally ſuppoſed, from reaſons of ſtate. Elizabeth, who well knew how to make religion ſubſervient to policy, reproached him, notwithſtanding, with his change, in a letter which has all the appearance of real ſorrow. But ſhe ſuffered herſelf to be ſoftened, and continued to him her aſſiſtance. She ought, in compliance with treaties, to have aſſiſted the king of Scotland, who was expoſed to the moſt dangerous conſpiracies. This prince, as her heir, and the ſon of Mary Stuart, ſeems to have been always the

the object of her hatred. Far from generouſly ſerving him, ſhe gave a retreat to ſeveral of his rebellious ſubjects. What magnanimity and weakneſs in the ſame character!

Some traitors, ſold to the Spaniards, having formed a deſign to kill their queen, were diſcovered and executed. The more deteſtable were theſe attempts, the more nobly did ſhe revenge herſelf by the honorable road of arms. After new efforts in favor of the king of France and the Hollanders, equally expoſed to Philip's deſigns, ſhe attacked him in his own dominions. The American expeditions not anſwering her expectation, or the courage of the Engliſh navigators, ſhe determined to invade Spain. Her fleet was compoſed of ſeventeen large ſhips of war, and more than an hundred and fifty ſmaller veſſels. Lord Effingham, who commanded, accompanied by the celebrated earl of Eſſex, ſurprized the Spaniards in the road of Cadiz [*l*]. Their fleet was defeated;

[*l*] When the reſolution was at laſt taken to attack the Spaniſh fleet in the harbor, the gal-

A. D. 1597. Expedition to Cadiz.

the impetuous Eſſex, general of the land forces, flew to attack the city, and entered it ſword in hand. The Engliſh found there prodigious riches. Their booty would have been immenſe, if the enemy had not burnt their own veſſels. The loſs of the Spaniards was computed at twenty millions of ducats. The other maritime expeditions, though leſs fatal to the king of Spain, taught him every day more and more how formidable was the Engliſh valor under a wiſe and vigorous adminiſtration. Elizabeth had again occaſion for a parliament. She obtained the ſame ſubſidies as had been granted by the laſt. The commons preſented a petition againſt the abuſe of monopolies. Her reply was gracious, but in general terms, which did not remedy the evil. When ſhe diſmiſſed this aſſembly, ſhe took occaſion, in her ſpeech, to advertize them, that, in regard to patents for excluſive privileges, ſhe hoped, from the love and fidelity of her people, that they would not in-

Parliament.

lant Eſſex threw his hat into the ſea, and gave every mark of the moſt extravagant joy.

vade

vade her prerogative, the faireſt gem of her crown, and that they would leave theſe things to her diſpoſition. We cannot ſuppoſe Engliſh liberty would gain ground under an authority ſupported with ſo much vigor and genius. The affair of monopolies was renewed ſome time after; we will then enter more minutely into the ſubject.

A. D. 1593. Peace of Vervins.

The deplorable ſtate of France, ſo long torn by diſcord, fanaticiſm, and civil war, rendering peace neceſſary to Henry the fourth, who lived only for the happineſs of his people; this prince imparted to his allies the propoſals made him by the court of Spain, and expreſſed to them how ardently he wiſhed to conclude a general peace. Elizabeth and the States General ſent him ambaſſadors to combat theſe pacific ſentiments. He made them ſenſible of the ſolidity of his reaſons, and the probity of his views; and, as Philip would not treat with Holland as a free ſtate, nor Elizabeth negotiate with Philip without the Hollanders, Henry concluded a ſeparate peace at Vervins. Some of the wiſeſt of the Engliſh miniſters,

and eſpecially lord Burghley, the moſt worthy of them all of her confidence, adviſed her, but in vain, to do the ſame. This courageous princeſs, ſo attentive at all other times to prevent dangers, not fearing the attempts of the Spaniard, hoping to take from him at ſea a great part of his treaſures, and intereſted alſo to defend the new republic, preferred an honorable war to a peace, the conſequences of which might draw on the ruin or ſlavery of Holland.

Earl of Eſſex.

Nobody contributed more to inſpire her with theſe ſentiments than the earl of Eſſex, who had ſucceeded his father-in-law, Leiceſter, who died in 1558, in her favor. A young nobleman diſtinguiſhed as much by his genius, as by his birth, and the charms of his perſon; intrepid, generous, ſincere, a faithful friend, ardent for action, fond of glory, but carried away by his paſſions, and incapable of ſubmitting to the reſtraint of wiſdom; one of thoſe men, in ſhort, who ſeem born for the higheſt fortune and the moſt tragical cataſtrophe. He was the declared rival of the prudent Burghley, and the celebrated Raleigh, whoſe

whoſe maritime expeditions equalled thoſe of Drake. The time approached when his haughty and ungovernable temper was fated to plunge him into the greateſt misfortunes. Diſputing one day on ſome buſineſs with the queen, he was ſo irritated as to turn his back on her with an air of the utmoſt contempt. Elizabeth, in a rage, gave him a box on the ear; he inſtantly clapped his hand to his ſword, and ſwore he would not bear ſuch uſage, even from Henry the eighth himſelf, and left the court in a fury. The chancellor, his friend, exhorted him to repair his fault by making a ſubmiſſion to the queen, and to remember his duty and his fortune. He replied by a very noble-ſpirited, but paſſionate letter, in which he diſcovered all the native haughtineſs of his ſoul, "If," ſaid he, "the vileſt of all indignities is done me, does religion enforce me to ſue for pardon? does God require it? is it impiety not to do it? Why? cannot princes err? cannot ſubjects receive wrong? is an earthly power infinite?—I have received wrong, I feel it; my cauſe is juſt, I know it; and what-

ſoever happens, all the powers on earth can never exert more ſtrength and conſtancy in oppreſſing, than I can ſhew in ſuffering oppreſſion." The friends of Eſſex imprudently ſhewed this letter. But the queen's affection was ſtrong enough to make her forget all. The death of Burghley [*m*] increaſed his credit with the queen. He became the only confident of Elizabeth, and in a great degree the arbiter of both the court and the kingdom.

Affairs of Ireland.

If proſperity too often blinds the wiſe, how much more dangerous is it to the imprudent? Eſſex was ſcarce re-eſtabliſhed in power before he abuſed it. The diſturbances in Ireland opened to his ambition a fatal career, in which he raſhly engaged, and came out both unfortunate and criminal.

[*m*] Lord Burghley died in an advanced age; and, by a rare fortune, was equally regretted by his ſovereign and the people. He was diſtinguiſhed by ſolidity of underſtanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in buſineſs. Of all the queen's miniſters, he was the only one who left a conſiderable fortune to his poſterity; a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppreſſion, but gained by the regular profits of his office, and preſerved by frugality. HUME.

criminal. This kingdom, which had been about four hundred years ſubject to the Engliſh dominion, was ſtill barbarous, without internal government, without laws, without learning; and ſo poor, that the conquerors drew ſcarce any thing from it, and maintained their poſſeſſion at a great expence [*n*]. Their defective policy had neglected the only means of uſefully ſubjecting a ſavage people, legiſlation. They had refuſed to grant to the Iriſh the benefit of the Engliſh laws, which they ought to have invited them to receive, as the true bond of mutual ſociety and friendſhip. They treated them as enemies, or rather as ferocious beaſts, without having an army able to enſlave them. This nation, in its turn, regarded the Engliſh with horror, and breathed only rebellion. Their bogs, and inacceſſible woods, ſerved them for an aſylum. Their conſtant attachment to the Romiſh church redoubled their inveteracy againſt their oppreſſors, Ferocity of the Iriſh.

[*n*] The uſual revenue of Ireland amounted only to ſix thouſand pounds a year, to which the queen, though with much repining, uſually added twenty thouſand more.

whom they regarded as heretics. Their rage roſe to ſuch a height, that they put to the ſword all the inhabitants of Athenry, their countrymen, only becauſe they began to conform to the Engliſh cuſtoms and manner of living. It is even ſaid, that Shan O Neal, who headed an inſurrection in Ulſter, in 1560, put ſeveral of his followers to death, whoſe ſole crime was their having endeavored to introduce the uſe of bread after the Engliſh faſhion.

Till this time, Elizabeth had only kept in Ireland a body of one thouſand, and ſometimes, but very rarely, two thouſand men, with which ſmall force the governors found it very difficult to render themſelves reſpected. One of them [o] had the imprudence to arm the inhabitants of Ulſter, who were attacked by the Scots, their neighbour. Theſe arms were ſoon turned againſt the Engliſh. Hugh O Neal, whom the queen had made earl of Tyrone, as fierce and perfidious as he was brave, excited a rebellion, received ſuccours from the king of Spain, and employing alter-

[o] Sir John Perrot.

nately

nately perjury and violence, gained advantages ſufficiently conſiderable to give very lively diſquietude to the court of London. The council perceived the inconveniences attending the ſyſtem they had always purſued. Inſtead of temporiſing, of acting with languor, of concluding truces with the rebels, which the latter never kept, they reſolved to attack them with vigor, and to ſubdue them by extraordinary efforts. Elizabeth caſt her eyes, for the execution of this deſign, on lord Mountjoy, more verſed in literature than in the military ſcience, but whoſe talents might ſupply the place of experience. The earl of Eſſex, eager to find occaſions to ſignalize himſelf, remonſtrated, that this expedition required a man of birth, of experience and reputation, ſuperior to thoſe of Mountjoy, and got himſelf nominated to the government. His enemies could not have adviſed him to a ſtep more fatal. The queen's preparations were ſuch as might have been expected from her tenderneſs for this favorite, and the extreme deſire ſhe had to ſubdue the ſeditious. She raiſed an army of twenty

Eſſex ſolicits the government of Ireland.

twenty thouſand men, not doubting that the firſt campaign would be deciſive. Eſſex's rivals foreſaw more clearly the event. They depended on his imprudence, and affected to praiſe him with the multitude, felicitating themſelves ſecretly on the faults he was probably going to commit, and the advantages which he gave them by his abſence from court.

A. D. 1599. Eſſex in Ireland.

The new governor began by making general of the horſe a man [p] to whom the queen had forbid his giving any command. He refuſed, till after repeated orders, to revoke this commiſſion. Any other man would have been the victim of ſo ſtrange a temerity. The reſt of his conduct was ſimilar to this beginning. Inſtead of attacking Tyrone, the head of this rebellion, in Ulſter, as Elizabeth had commanded, and himſelf before adviſed, he ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded to march into Munſter, at the other extremity of the kingdom; he there diſperſed or ſubdued

[p] The earl of Southampton, his friend, who had incurred the queen's diſpleaſure by privately marrying without her conſent.

the

the rebels, who revolted anew after his departure; the ſeaſon being very far advanced, and his army conſiderably weakened, he at length paſſed into Ulſter. Tyrone propoſed a conference, which he accepted; he concluded a ſuſpenſion of arms, and affairs remained in the ſame ſtate as before. The queen ſignified to him her diſpleaſure, and commanded him to continue in Ireland till farther orders. Eſſex, perſuaded that his preſence would do more than all his apologies, parted without ſaying any thing, arrived in London, and preſented himſelf before his miſtreſs, covered with duſt and ſweat. Whether Elizabeth's paſſion revived at his ſight, or that ſurprize prevented her attending to propriety and decorum, ſhe gave him a reception with which he was charmed. But it was not long before he was convinced, how much his preſumption, and the faults he had committed, had weakened his aſcendant over this heart, leſs tender than haughty and abſolute. He was ordered to give an account of his conduct before the privy council, and was interdicted all ſociety. His diſgrace ſeemed

Eſſex diſgraced.

ſeemed to humble his pride. He fell ſick; his life was thought in danger; the queen, who wiſhed, as ſhe ſaid, to correct, not to ruin him, intereſted herſelf extremely in his recovery, and this proof of tenderneſs was apparently the moſt efficacious remedy.

Mountjoy, appointed to the government of Ireland, ſhewed there ſuch ability, and met with ſuch ſucceſs, as made the conduct of Eſſex appear ſtill more inexcuſable to the court, though his popularity increaſed in proportion to his misfortunes. The people accuſed the queen of injuſtice. Fired at their murmurs, ſhe was on the point of ordering the earl to be tried in the ſtar-chamber. A remaining ſpark of affection rendered her more indulgent. She intruſted the affair to the privy council. The chancellor's ſentence is remarkable: "If this cauſe," ſaid he, "had been heard in the ſtar-chamber, my ſentence muſt have been for as great a fine as ever was ſet upon any man's head in that court, together with perpetual confinement in that priſon which belongeth to a man of his quality, the Tower. But ſince we are now in another place, and

and in a court of favor, my cenſure is, that the earl of Eſſex is not to execute the office of a counſellor, nor that of earl marſhal of England, nor of maſter of the ordnance; and to return to his own houſe, there to continue a priſoner, till it ſhall pleaſe her majeſty to releaſe this and all the reſt of his ſentence." Every one expected to ſee him ſoon reſtored to favor. His apparent ſubmiſſion might naturally have diſarmed Elizabeth's anger. He wrote to her one day, that he kiſſed the rod with which ſhe had corrected him, was reſolved to expiate his faults, to retire into the country, and there ſuffer patiently the ſorrows which would conſume him whilſt baniſhed from her preſence.

Eſſex, in the ſociety of an amiable wife [q], of the moſt refined and improved underſtanding, with whom he indulged the delight of reading the maſter-pieces of antiquity, ſo calculated to heal the maladies of the ſoul by leſſons equally ſolid and pleaſing, had not been able to undeceive himſelf in reſpect to the chimeras of ambition, and ſtill nouriſhed a reſtleſs A. D. 1600.

[q] Daughter to Sir Francis Walſingham.

paſſion,

paſſion, the bane of his happineſs. Elizabeth did not ſufficiently reflect, that this fiery character, if driven to extremes, was capable of trampling under foot every duty. By endeavoring to try him, ſhe too ſtrongly inflamed his reſentment. The earl, loſing all hope of ſoftening her, forgot her favors, and gave himſelf up to a ſpirit of vengeance: to increaſe the number of his partizans, he careſſed the Catholics; but he flattered above all the Puritans, whoſe enterprizing ſect ſpread itſelf every day. His houſe became a kind of conventicle, where the fervor of theſe enthuſiaſts conſtantly diſplayed itſelf. The ſpirit of the age was ſo turned towards fanaticiſm, that this affectation of godlineſs had more charms for the multitude than pleaſures. The imprudent Eſſex did not ſpare the queen in his converſation. He painted her as an old woman, whoſe mind was become as crooked as her body. Elizabeth was informed of this. Extremely delicate on the article of beauty, though near ſeventy years old, ſhe felt theſe injurious expreſſions both as a woman and a ſovereign.

Every

Every ſtep the earl took, in this intoxication of paſſion, conducted him nearer the precipice. He paid court to the king of Scotland, and promiſed to uſe all his efforts to ſecure to him the ſucceſſion; he traced the plan of a rebellion; reſolved, with his partizans, to attack the palace, to oblige the queen to ſummon a parliament, and to change the adminiſtration of the kingdom. He did not doubt, that the inhabitants of London would take arms at the firſt ſignal. But the court, informed of the conſpiracy, had taken wiſe meaſures. Eſſex appeared in the city, accompanied by two hundred of his attendants. His ſeditious exhortations produced no effect. He was purſued, and, notwithſtanding his courage, ſurrendered at diſcretion. His trial was ſoon finiſhed. The crime was notorious: the accuſed, far from defending himſelf, gave himſelf up to thoſe religious ſentiments, which he had from policy before affected; and not only acknowledged himſelf guilty [r], but accuſed his friends; a

Eſſex rebels.

A. D. 1601.

[a] Monſ. Milot is here guilty of a ſmall error. On his trial he aſſerted his innocency; but after condemnation acknowledged himſelf guilty,

ſtep

ſtep which in any other period of his life he would have regarded as an infamous baſeneſs. The queen, cruelly agitated, balanced ſome time between juſtice and clemency. She felt her ſcarce-extinguiſhed paſſion revive; and if the earl would have implored pardon, love without doubt would have pardoned him. He was executed in the Tower, leſt the ſpectacle of his execution ſhould excite a popular inſurrection. This illuſtrious criminal was only thirty-four years of age. Deſcended, by the female line, from the royal family, endowed with ſuperior talents and heroic qualities, he ruined himſelf for want of enjoying his happineſs with a neceſſary degree of moderation. The people, to whom he was dear, were enraged at his death; and the queen, when ſhe appeared in public, no longer heard the acclamation, to which ſhe had been accuſtomed. Hiſtorians reproach the celebrated Sir Francis Bacon, afterwards chancellor, with having pleaded in this trial againſt Eſſex, his friend and benefactor, though in no office which obliged him to it. This great genius unhappily aſpired to an elevated

Eſſex executed.

elevated fortune. All his literary merit can ſcarce efface the ſtains incurred by this conduct.

Elizabeth and Henry the fourth, worthy judges of the merit of each other, deſired ardently to meet. Elizabeth was at Dover, Henry at Calais. Some neceſſary conſiderations prevented their interview. Henry ſent, however, to the queen, a man capable of repreſenting him; Roſny, afterwards duke of Sully, that friend and great miniſter of a great king. His memoirs contain the particulars of his converſation with Elizabeth. It appears there, that the queen of England and the king of France, without communicating their ideas to each other, had formed the ſame project of abaſing the houſe of Auſtria, and eſtabliſhing a juſt balance between the European powers: a project, the execution of which was deferred, becauſe the wounds of France ſtill demanded all Henry's attention.

Though Philip the ſecond was dead (in 1598), the court of Spain, ſtill animated by his ſpirit, ſent troops into Ireland, under the command of Don

Don John D'Aquila. Religion was the pretext of every enterprize, whether of ambition or rebellion. Aquila took the title of *General of the holy war for the preſervation of the faith*; he did not fail to avail himſelf of the pope's bull: he endeavored to perſuade the Iriſh, that the queen, being excommunicated, had loſt her right to the crown, and that the Spaniards came to deliver them from the tyranny of the devil. Mountjoy prevented this new ſtorm. He attacked the Spaniards and the rebels, drove away the firſt, ſubdued the others; and, by a conduct full of prudence and vigor, terminated in a few years the reduction of Ireland; an imperfect work, whilſt barbariſm and fanaticiſm ſubſiſted in this country.

Abuſe of monopolies.

The queen ſummoned a new parliament, to fill the void of her treaſury. The great affair of monopolies was brought again on the tapis in the lower houſe. No abuſe was ſo enormous or ſo generally exclaimed againſt. The narrow revenues of the crown being inadequate to her deſire of beſtowing favors or rewards, Elizabeth had ſupplied this deficiency by laviſh-

ing patents for excluſive privileges, Thoſe who obtained them, ſold them to others. The price of almoſt every ſpecies of merchandize was raiſed at the will of a few individuals; that freedom which is the ſoul of commerce was no more; the people ſuffered all the vexations which avarice armed with power could inflict: the abuſe extended to things the moſt common and neceſſary, to ſalt, oil, vinegar, paper, cloth, iron, lead, ſkins, bottles, bruſhes, [s] &c. &c. When this aſtoniſhing liſt was read, a member of the houſe of commons exclaimed, *Is not bread in the number?* Every one appearing ſurprized at this queſtion, *Yes, bread*, ſaid he; *if affairs go on at this rate, we ſhall have bread reduced to a monopoly before next parliament*. The partizans of the court expreſſed themſelves according to the principles of the court, or rather according to thoſe of the age, for abſolute authority was then regarded as the baſis of the Engliſh govern-

[s] Mr. Hume enumerates about twenty articles, as a part only of thoſe conſigned over to monopolies.

ment.

ment. Bacon advanced, that the royal authority ought neither to be conteſted nor examined; that it gave to the ſovereign the power both of extending and reſtraining: of extending what is reſtrained by the laws, and reſtraining what the laws made free. Another obſerved, that they, in vain, attempted to tie up the queen's hands by ſtatutes, ſince, by virtue of her diſpenſing power, ſhe could ſet herſelf at liberty as ſhe pleaſed; and that, if a clauſe ſhould be annexed to this ſtatute, excluſive of her diſpenſing power, ſhe could firſt diſpenſe with this clauſe, and afterwards with the ſtatute itſelf. God has given, ſaid a third, to *abſolute* princes the ſame power which he attributes to himſelf. His proof was contained in theſe words of Scripture, *I have ſaid, ye are Gods.* At length, an Engliſhman dared to aſſert, in this aſſembly, that the queen might take whatever belonged to her ſubjects; and that ſhe had as much right to all their lands and goods, as to any revenue of her crown. *A diſcourſe,* as Mr. Hume obſerves, *more worthy of a Turkiſh divan, than of an Engliſh houſe of commons, according to our preſent*

ſent idea of this aſſembly. Several members notwithſtanding vigorouſly preſſed the houſe to apply a remedy to theſe abuſes, and, as the petition preſented by the laſt parliament had proved ineffectual, adviſed a bill to aboliſh all monopolies. The queen prudently parried this blow. Having ſent for the ſpeaker, ſhe ordered him to inform the houſe, ſhe would immediately cancel the moſt grievous and oppreſſive of theſe patents.

The joy and gratitude of the commons paſſed all imagination. Accuſtomed to the tone of abſolute authority, and to the moſt haughty denials, they ſaw with tranſport that the prerogative at length yielded to the intereſt of the nation. The ſpeaker was ſent, at the head of a certain number of members, to thank the queen, and ſpoke to her as to a divinity. They had already granted her four ſubſidies [*t*], a liberality without example. They did not even wait till ſhe had ſatisfied the houſe on the article of monopolies. To have appeared to expect her conſent, would

[*t*] And eight fifteenths.

have been the infallible means never to have obtained it. All changed under her ſucceſſors; becauſe, whilſt they preſerved the ſame principles, they had neither the ſame addreſs, nor the ſame power, to make them prevail over thoſe of liberty.

A. D. 1603. Death of Elizabeth.

The two laſt years of Elizabeth furniſh no memorable event. A profound melancholy ſeized her in the midſt of the proſperity and glory with which ſhe was crowned. Some hiſtorians attribute this to the chagrin of ſeeing the courtiers turn their attention towards the king of Scots, her preſumptive heir; others regard it as the effect of her paſſion for Eſſex. After the expedition to Cadiz, ſhe had, they ſay, given him a ring [*u*], promiſing, that into whatever diſgrace he might fall, or whatever efforts his enemies might make to ruin him, at the ſight of this precious pledge of her affection, ſhe would be always ready to hear, to defend, and to give him proofs of her tenderneſs. The favorite, condemned to death, entreat-

[*u*] This ſtory, long regarded as romantic, has lately been confirmed, by authentic papers.

ed

ed the counteſs of Nottingham to carry the ring to Elizabeth; but the earl of Nottingham, his enemy, prevented its being given to her. The queen expected the fatal ring with the moſt eager impatience. Not receiving it, ſhe thought herſelf deſpiſed, and ſigned the order for his execution. The counteſs, at length, torn by remorſe, in her laſt ſickneſs, revealed the ſecret to the queen. Furious and inconſolable, Elizabeth gave herſelf up at firſt to all the tranſports of rage; and afterwards, without diſcovering the wound which rankled at her heart, without taking either ſuſtenance or medicine, ſunk into ſilent ſorrow and deſpair. A mortal languor ſoon reduced her to the laſt extremity. The council ſent to know her mind with regard to her ſucceſſor. She pointed out the king of Scots, her neareſt relation; and expired, in the ſeventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign.

Her character.

This princeſs, too highly exalted by adulation, too much darkened by ſatire, will always, in ſpite of her vices and defects, hold one of the firſt places amongſt great kings. The

littleneſſes of vanity, the weakneſſes of love, the tranſports of jealouſy and of anger, the artifices of duplicity, the inclination for deſpotiſm, which cannot be palliated, have drawn on her juſt reproaches; but the firmneſs, the prudence, and the glory of her government, her profound policy, her indefatigable vigilance, her heroiſm which placed her above all dangers, her œconomy exempt from avarice, her dexterity in the moſt intricate affairs, have rendered her reputation triumphant over all the efforts which have been made to obſcure it. It is a ſingular prodigy, that, without granting liberty of conſcience, ſhe had the addreſs to prevent thoſe religious wars which put all Europe in flames. There is another not leſs ſurprizing, that the arbitrary power, of which ſhe was ſo jealous, did not hinder her from poſſeſſing the affection of her ſubjects. She ſeveral times gave them proofs of her confidence. *I will never*, ſaid ſhe, *believe of them what fathers and mothers would not believe of their children.* In one word, her royal qualities merit as much admiration, as her character in common life

life ſeems in ſome reſpects to merit cenſure [*w*].

[*w*] The fame of this princeſs, though it has ſurmounted the prejudices both of faction and of bigotry, yet lies ſtill expoſed to another prejudice, which is more durable, becauſe more natural, and which, according to the different views in which we ſurvey her, is capable either of exalting her beyond meaſure, or diminiſhing the luſtre of her character. This prejudice is founded on the conſideration of her ſex. When we contemplate her as a woman, we are apt to be ſtruck with the higheſt admiration of her great qualities and extenſive capacity; but we are alſo apt to require ſome more ſoftneſs of diſpoſition, ſome greater lenity of temper, ſome of thoſe amiable weakneſſes by which her ſex is diſtinguiſhed. But the true method of eſtimating her merit, is to lay aſide all theſe conſiderations, and conſider her merely as a rational being, placed in authority, and entruſted with the government of mankind. We may find it difficult to reconcile our fancy to her as a wife or a miſtreſs; but her qualities as a ſovereign, though with ſome conſiderable exceptions, are the object of undiſputed applauſe and approbation. HUME.

To ſum up in two words what may ſeem to form Elizabeth's character, I ſhall add, that ſhe was a good and illuſtrious queen, with many virtues and noble qualities, and few faults. But, what ought above all things to make her memory precious is, that ſhe cauſed the Engliſh to enjoy a ſtate of felicity unknown to their anceſtors, under the moſt part of the kings her predeceſſors. This doubtleſs is the touchſtone by

A. D. 1603.

We ſhall ſee, under the kings of the houſe of Stuart, a prodigious change in the principles, manners, and government, of this country. To know the ſource, and follow better the progreſs, of this revolution, it is of importance to form a juſt idea of our ſubject, by conſidering them as they were under Elizabeth, whoſe famous reign is one of the principal epochas of the hiſtory of England. Obſervations on matters ſo intereſting are as the keys to events. Thoſe know nothing, or are very ill inſtructed, who, confining themſelves to hiſtorical facts, are ignorant

which all thoſe are to be tried whom God has ſet over nations and kingdoms. RAPIN.

Nothing ſeems to the tranſlator a ſtronger proof of the high eſteem in which Elizabeth was held by her people, than the monuments erected to her memory in almoſt every church in London. She hopes to be pardoned inſerting a part of one of them as a ſpecimen, taken by chance from amongſt a great number in Stow:

" If royal vertues ever crown'd a crowne,
If ever mildneſſe ſhin'd in majeſty,
If ever honour honour'd true renowne,
If ever courage dwelt with clemency,
If ever princeſſe put all princes downe,
For temperance, proweſſe, prudence, equity,
This, this was ſhe, that in deſpight of death,
Lives ſtill admir'd, ador'd, ELIZABETH."

of

of what characterizes nations and ages.

From the acceſſion of the Tudors to the throne, the principles of abſolute monarchy had been every day ſtriking deeper root throughout the nation. Elizabeth, undoubtedly, found them ſolidly eſtabliſhed; ſince, whilſt ſupporting and exerciſing them in ſo lofty a manner, far from meeting any oppoſition on this head, ſhe was beloved by her ſubjects beyond any of her predeceſſors. The royal prerogative had, if we may ſo expreſs ourſelves, abſorbed the Engliſh conſtitution. To make the leaſt attempt to reſtrain it, would have been conſtrued a revolt, and ſeverely puniſhed. Arbitrary tribunals, founded on this prerogative, exerciſed an authority calculated to inſpire terror, and ſupport deſpotiſm. The ſtar-chamber extended its juriſdiction to every kind of offences, to contempts and diſorders, not comprized within the limits of the common law. It inflicted at diſcretion, fines, impriſonment, or corporal puniſhment. The judges of whom it was compoſed, being only appointed during pleaſure, depended abſolutely on the

Extent of the prerogative.

Star-chamber.

court; and the prince, when preſent, was the ſole judge, the reſt having only the power to interpoſe their advice.

High commiſſion.

The high commiſſion court, of which we have ſeen the origin in 1559, was neither leſs formidable, nor leſs deſtructive to liberty. It had cognizance of hereſy, a crime ſo difficult to aſcertain, and ſo eaſy for temerity to ſuppoſe. Its method of proceeding by inquiſition, by exacting oaths and ſubſcriptions, of puniſhing without eſtabliſhed rule, even offences which were not puniſhable, cauſed it to be regarded, with reaſon, as an inſtrument of tyranny. The exerciſe of martial law furniſhed complaints equally juſt. In inſurrections and public diſorders, it was employed, not only againſt ſoldiers, but all other perſons; and, according to Bacon, it was by favor that the earl of Eſſex and his accomplices were exempted from trial by this law. Elizabeth made uſe of it againſt thoſe who brought bulls from Rome, and in general againſt foreign libels and prohibited books. Nothing could be more arbitrary, or more ſudden, than the ſeverities exerciſed

Martial law.

cifed in virtue of this law [x]; nothing more oppoſite conſequently to

[x] The ſtreets of London being infeſted with vagabonds and riotous perſons, Elizabeth gave Sir Thomas Wilford a commiſſion of provoſt marſhal; *granting him authority, and commanding him, upon ſignification given by the juſtices of peace in London, and the neighboring counties, of ſuch offenders, worthy to be ſpeedily executed by martial law, to attach and take the ſame perſons, and in the preſence of the ſaid juſtices, according to martial law, to execute them openly upon the gallows or gibbet.* "It would be difficult," ſays Mr. Hume, "to produce an inſtance of ſuch an act of authority in any place nearer than Moſcovy."

"The government of England during that age," adds this hiſtorian, "however different in other particulars, bore in this reſpect ſome reſemblance to that of Turkey at preſent: the ſovereign poſſeſſed every power, except that of impoſing taxes: and in both countries this limitation, unſupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey it obliges the ſultan to permit the extortion of the baſhas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards ſqueezes preſents or takes forfeitures: in England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for excluſive trade; an invention ſo pernicious, that had ſhe gone on, during a tract of years, at her own rate, England, the ſeat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have contained at preſent as little induſtry as Morocco, or the coaſt of Barbary."

Elizabeth, by an edict, prohibited the culture of woad, an uſeful plant, of which ſhe could not

true juſtice. At length, there needed only a hint from the court to fill the priſons, and multiply puniſhments. The following inſtance will ſuffice to ſhew Elizabeth's ſeverity. Dr. Haywarde having dedicated a volume of hiſtory to the earl of Eſſex, during his diſgrace; ſhe was greatly irritated at it, and aſked Bacon, whether this book contained nothing which could convict the author of high treaſon. "I find nothing like that," ſaid he; "but I find ſufficient to convict him of a capital crime." "And what?" ſaid ſhe. "The author, madam, has committed a manifeſt felony; having inſerted in his work ſeveral ſentences of Tacitus, tranſlated into Engliſh." The queen, imagining afterwards that Haywarde had lent his name to ſome other author, proteſted ſhe would have him racked to make him diſcover the ſecret. "Madam," replied Bacon, "never rack his perſon, but his ſtyle:

Severity of Elizabeth.

bear the ſmell. She made her officers break the long ſwords, and clip the large ruffs, which were then in faſhion, and which happened to diſpleaſe her. The czar Peter ſcarce ſhewed himſelf more abſolute, when he obliged the Moſcovites to cut off their beards.

let

let him have pen, ink, and paper, and help of books, and be injoined to continue the ſtory where it breaketh off; and I will undertake, by collating the ſtyles, to judge whether he were the author or no." Thus, had it not been for the ingenious addreſs of Bacon, an innocent man of letters muſt have undergone the torture, for having given to Eſſex, the Mæcenas of England, a public teſtimony of his reſpect, or his gratitude.

There failed then to the ſovereign no power but that of impoſing taxes. But even this the prerogative ſupplied. Monopolies, extorted loans, *benevolence*, (a kind of free gift which was notwithſtanding demanded), *purveyance*, wardſhip, embargoes on merchandize, a croud of burthenſome expedients, were the more common as the want of money was more urgent. They reckon no leſs than twenty branches of the royal prerogative then in force, ſuppreſſed ſince as incompatible with the Engliſh conſtitution. It muſt be confeſſed, that, the revenues of the crown being too ſmall, and the parliament always extremely ſparing of ſubſidies, the kings could ſcarce avoid abuſing

their powers, in order to procure reſources.

Though the parliament aſſumed to itſelf the legiſlative power, the crown really exerciſed it by its proclamations and edicts. Beſides, by diſpenſing with the laws, do you not really render them weak and ineffectual? The great council of the nation had then hardly any juſt ideas of that national liberty, which afterwards became ſo valuable in their hands. In 1586, Wentworth, a puritanical enthuſiaſt, propoſed, in the houſe of commons, ſome bold queſtions, which ſeemed diſtantly to announce parliamentary principles. He aſked, "if every member of that aſſembly had not a right, without riſk and without fear, to repreſent freely the grievances of the republic, concerning the ſervice of God, and the ſecurity of the prince and the ſtate? if they could fulfil their duty without a perfect liberty of ſpeech? if it was not contrary to order to betray to the prince, or any other perſon, the great and important affairs which were debated in that aſſembly? if there was any other council which could add

to

to or retrench the laws of the kingdom? if the prince and the ſtate could ſubſiſt intire without the parliament?" But Wentworth was ſent to the Tower; and the parliament, far from purſuing views ſo hazardous, received with conſtant ſubmiſſion the orders of Elizabeth, who ſtrictly forbad their mixing in affairs of ſtate. To produce a revolution, it was neceſſary fanaticiſm ſhould eſtabliſh its dominion, communicate its fervors to the love of liberty, and find weak princes whoſe imprudence might furniſh pretences for its attempts.

This abſolute authority of the crown was not without its advantages, in reſpect to the maintenance of order and tranquillity within the kingdom, the vigor of counſels and promptneſs of execution without. It is notwithſtanding certain, that under the rigid government of Elizabeth, the provinces were infeſted by banditti, who committed the greateſt diſorders, that the magiſtrates dared not do juſtice, and that the queen complained of the imperfect execution of the laws. It was ſaid in full parliament, "that a juſtice of peace was an animal, that, for

for a dozen of pullets, would diſpenſe with a dozen penal laws." The evil perhaps proceeded from the œconomy which the queen found herſelf obliged to obſerve; for, without great expence, it is impoſſible to ſuppreſs criminals in any kingdom. Might it not alſo in part proceed from the unfitneſs of arbitrary power, compared to a regular adminiſtration of juſtice, to maintain order, and repreſs licentiouſneſs? The more the ſovereign reſpects the laws, the better they will be obeyed by the people.

Finances, commerce, marine, &c.

The ordinary revenue of Elizabeth was above five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. She received of parliament, during her whole reign, only twenty ſubſidies, and thirty-nine fifteenths. The value of the ſubſidies was continually diminiſhing; and from four hundred and twenty-two thouſand pounds ſterling, was at length reduced to eighty thouſand. The Spaniſh war coſt, in two years, a million three hundred thouſand pounds; and that of Ireland, more than three millions ſterling in ten years. This calculation may enable us to form a judgement of the wiſe œconomy of the

the queen. It is ſcarce conceivable how, with ſuch narrow reſources, ſhe could be able to attempt and execute ſuch great things. Neither did ſhe neglect leſs important objects. Foreign commerce made great progreſs; but monopolies and excluſive privileges were very deſtructive to the interior. The marine, though conſiderably augmented, was very weak in compariſon with what it has ſince become. The ſtrength of the kingdom, the number of inhabitants, the national wealth, have received a prodigious increaſe in the ſpace of an age. According to Mr. Hume, Ireland alone is at preſent more powerful than the three kingdoms at the death of Elizabeth; and a good province of England, than the whole kingdom in the reign of Henry the fifth; when the maintenance of a garriſon in a ſmall town, like Calais, formed more than a third of the ordinary national expence. Such, obſerves this author, are the effects of liberty, induſtry, and good government!

Change in national manners.

A remarkable change in the national manners had not a little contributed to increaſe the power of the crown.

crown. The ancient hoſpitality of the nobles leſſened every day; their houſeholds were no longer ſo numerous, and the queen had even obliged them by proclamation to reſtrain themſelves on this article. From hence their credit and influence neceſſarily diminiſhed; they had fewer retainers; and were leſs in a ſituation to form intrigues and conſpiracies. The taſte for luxury, now introduced amongſt them, ruined their fortunes, and enriched the induſtrious tradeſmen and mechanics at their expence. The cities became more populous; the inhabitants of the country acquired, by means of agriculture, an eaſe, and even an opulence, which freed them from the yoke of the nobility. Thus the barons ceaſed to be formidable to the crown. But it ſoon loſt on one ſide, what it gained on the other. The commons became more jealous of their privileges; they incroached on the prerogative, and gave mortal blows to the monarchy; the exceſs of power naturally produces the exceſs of independence. In ſhort, after terrible convulſions which tore the ſtate, aroſe that new form of government

ment in which England now glories, and to which ſhe owes her happineſs.

To judge by the fanaticiſm already ſpread over the kingdom, one would have ſuppoſed the revival of learning had only ſerved to prepare fuel for theological quarrels. It was, however, cultivated and honored by the nobility [y]. Elizabeth underſtood Greek and Latin. She tranſlated Boethius of the conſolation of philoſophy; and the name of author was one of thoſe moſt flattering to her vanity [z]. The glory of encouraging, of rewarding talents, would have been without doubt preferable. She ſo Literature.

[y] The four ſucceſſive ſovereigns, Henry, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, may, on one account or other, be admitted into the claſs of authors. Queen Catherine Parr tranſlated a book; lady Jane Gray, conſidering her age, and her ſex, and her ſtation, may be regarded as a prodigy of literature. Even the ladies of the court valued themſelves on knowledge: lady Burghley, lady Bacon, and their two ſiſters, were miſtreſſes of the ancient, as well as modern, languages; and valued themſelves more on their erudition than on their rank and quality. HUME.

[z] Next to her deſire of admiration for beauty, this ſeems to have been the chief object of her vanity. HUME.

little

little deſerved this praiſe, that Spenſer, the firſt poet of that age, died almoſt of want, after the death of Sir Philip Sidney, his protector. The king of Scotland was not leſs learned than Elizabeth, and had a better taſte, though ſpoiled by pedantry. The courſe of this hiſtory will ſhew us, that one of James's misfortunes was that of piquing himſelf on theology, and that the ſubverſion of the kingdom was the effect of the unhappy art of refining on religion. Science itſelf is deſtructive when not directed by wiſdom.

JAMES the Firſt.

A. D. 1603. Right of James to the crown.

IN default of heirs male of the houſe of Tudor, James the ſixth, king of Scotland, great grandſon of Margaret, eldeſt daughter of Henry the ſeventh, had an inconteſtable right to the crown of England. Elizabeth had acknowledged his rights, notwithſtanding the laſt will of Henry the eighth, which ſeemed to annihilate them; a will equally odious with the memory

memory of the teſtator. The nation expreſſed the moſt lively joy at the acceſſion of James; either from that love of change ſo natural to mankind, even when in a happy ſituation, or from eſteem for this prince, whoſe merit was however greatly inferior to that of Elizabeth. To complete the glory of the latter, it was only neceſſary to compare her adminiſtration with that of her ſucceſſor.

The new king of England, under the name of James the firſt, began his reign by laviſhing titles and honors; that is, by debaſing them, inſtead of making them objects of ambition, and glorious recompences of ſuperior merit [*a*]. A paſquinade was affixed to St. Paul's, propoſing to teach thoſe of weak memories an eaſy method to retain the names of the new nobility. The Scots had a large ſhare in theſe honors, which inflamed the national hatred. This circumſtance would probably have produced fatal diſſenſions, if James had

[*a*] In ſix weeks time, after his entrance into the kingdom, he is computed to have beſtowed knighthood on no leſs than two hundred and thirty-ſeven perſons. HUME.

not

not had the prudence to employ ſeveral Engliſh in the principal public affairs; amongſt others, Cecil, ſecretary of ſtate, created earl of Saliſbury, and regarded as his principal miniſter. Amongſt the ambaſſadors ſent to him by the princes of Europe, hiſtorians diſtinguiſh the celebrated Roſny, a miniſter worthy of Henry the fourth. He was commiſſioned to propoſe a league againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which, under Charles the fifth and Philip the ſecond, had menaced the liberties of Europe, and which appeared ſtill formidable under the feeble government of Philip the third. England had reaſon to wiſh, as well as France, to ſet bounds to this ambitious power; but the king's pacific temper gave him an averſion to enterprizes of this kind. Roſny with great difficulty prevailed on him to conclude a treaty in favor of the Hollanders, to whom this prince gave the appellation of rebels. The two kings engaged mutually to aſſiſt each other againſt Spain; and James ſacrificed his private ideas of juſtice, to the common intereſt of his kingdom and France.

Negotiation of Sully.

A con-

A conſpiracy, which has never been fully cleared up, gave him great vexation, without altering the government. The conſpirators were diſcovered and puniſhed. One of them accuſed Sir Walter Raleigh, a man of diſtinguiſhed merit, who was judged culpable becauſe his haughty temper had rendered him obnoxious. The celebrated lawyer, Coke, pleading for the crown, as attorney general, was not aſhamed to give him the names of *traitor*, *viper*, and *ſpider of hell*; language which paints ſtrongly the manners of the age. Raleigh, notwithſtanding his eloquence, and the power of his reaſoning, obtained only a reſpite. Some others were executed [*b*]. Delivered from this danger, James turned all his attention to theological diſputes, with which he delighted to employ himſelf, rather like a theologian than a king. Elizabeth's ſeverity had retained the Catholics within the limits of obedience. The fanaticiſm of the Puritans was more difficult to ſubdue.

A. D. 1604. Raleigh accuſed.

Theological diſputes.

[*b*] The two prieſts, and Mr. Broke, brother to lord Cobham.

Theſe

Theſe fiery enthuſiaſts flattered themſelves with being better treated by a prince who had, in Scotland, been governed by their ſect. But he knew too well their ſpirit of independence, was too jealous of his authority, and too fond of pleaſures, to be favorable to them in a country where they poſſeſſed no power. He however deſired the Engliſh clergy to have a conference with them at Hampton Court. They diſputed there before him, not on doctrine, the eſſential object of the controverſy, but on trifling ceremonies, which violently divided the two parties. Theſe ceremonies were principally the croſs in baptiſm, the ring in marriage, the uſe of the ſurplice, and the bowing at the name of Jeſus. The Puritans ſoon knew James's true ſentiments. *No biſhop, no king*, ſaid he often, with a deciſive tone. The archbiſhop of Canterbury obſerved, *that his majeſty ſpoke by the ſpecial aſſiſtance of God's ſpirit*. A few alterations in the liturgy were all the fruits of this conference. Each party retained its prejudices, with all the animoſity which they inſpire.

It was not without reaſon that the monarch ſupported the epiſcopalians, who were zealous for the royal prerogative. The love of liberty increaſed in Europe, and eſpecially in England. It was, with great probability, attributed to that taſte for literature, which, by extending the ſphere of ideas, gave full career to the ſentiment moſt natural to man. The works of the ancients, the hiſtory of ſo many famous republics, could not fail of nouriſhing the republican ſpirit in ſouls where it began to unfold itſelf. The parliament, though hitherto reſtrained by the ſtricteſt ties, now began to ſhew more courage. A member [c] of the houſe of commons having been rejected by the chancellor, who declared him an outlaw, and iſſued writs for a new election, (a thing practiſed and authorized under Elizabeth,) the commons oppoſed this act, as ſtriking at the liberty of elections, and the privileges of parliament. They pretended to the ſole right of iſſuing orders to fill vacant ſeats, and the court

[c] Sir Francis Goodwin.

ſeemed

ſeemed to acknowledge it. Wardſhip and purveyance, and more eſpecially thoſe excluſive patents, which centered all the commerce of the capital in the hands of almoſt two hundred perſons, excited alſo, but in vain, the reſtleſs zeal of the commons. Influenced by the ſame ſpirit of independence, they oppoſed the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland; an union, which a wiſe policy would have conſidered as the moſt precious advantage. They refuſed the king a ſubſidy, of which he was in want, and which, when refuſed, he affected not to deſire. This conduct of the parliament ſpoke plainly the new principles, which were ſpringing up in the nation. James did not foreſee its conſequences. He depended on the rights of his crown, without imagining that his ſubjects might have rights to oppoſe to his.

A. D. 1605. Powder plot.

His timidity and weakneſs, rather than his policy, made him conclude a peace with Spain. But a moſt horrible conſpiracy diſturbed that tranquillity which his indolence held ſo dear. The Catholics, who hoped the ſon of Mary Stuart would

have ſoftened in their favor the ſeverity of the laws, provoked at ſeeing themſelves treated with the ſame ſeverity as before, forgot the duties of religion, to purſue the dictates of falſe zeal. Cateſby and Piercy, men of diſtinguiſhed birth and intrepid courage, formed a plan to re-eſtabliſh their religion on the ruins of all that was moſt eminent in the kingdom. The king, the royal family, both houſes of parliament, were to periſh by the ſame blow. In order to execute this incredible attempt, they aſſociated about twenty conſpirators, who bound themſelves to ſecrecy and union by oaths, and the ſacraments of the church. Thirty-ſix barrels of gunpowder were already hid in a cellar under the apartments where the parliament met. The ſecret had not tranſpired; the devoted day was on the point of arriving. Fortunately lord Monteagle, a Roman Catholic, was advertiſed, by an anonymous letter, not to give his attendance in parliament; *that they ſhould receive a terrible blow, and not know from whence it came.* Monteagle conſulted Saliſbury; they thought the letter very little worthy of attention. It

was, however, communicated to the king. James judged differently; he ſuſpected what they had not conceived. The cellars were ſearched, and the barrels of gunpowder diſcovered; they arreſted one of the conſpirators: fear of the torture made him declare his accomplices. They attempted, though few in number, to defend themſelves. Their powder failing them, the greater part were maſſacred. Some of them, being led to priſon, confeſſed their crime, and ſuffered death. It is pretended the two jeſuits, one of whom [*d*] was executed, had abuſed the rite of confeſſion to ſtrengthen the minds of the criminals. But we have ſeen no certain proof of ſo atrocious a fact. Catholic writers have even maintained, that the powder plot was only a vain chimera. It were to be wiſhed, that the evidence produced had left any doubt in reſpect to a fact which was too clearly proved.

James's moderation bridled the fury of the Engliſh againſt the Catholics. He declared in full parliament, "that they ought not to be comprehended in a

[*d*] Garnet.

general

general accuſation; that ſeveral amongſt them deteſted the rebellion; and that, in puniſhing crimes, he always wiſhed to protect innocence." He afterwards ſoftened the rigor even of his own laws in reſpect to them. The difference of religion did not exclude from his favor thoſe whom he thought worthy of it. This was one proof of that real merit which procured him the name of the ſecond Solomon; but he was deficient in that vigor of mind, that profound policy, and above all, that art of accommodating himſelf to conjunctures, without which it was impoſſible to ſupport ſo glorious a title. A conſiderable ſubſidy, which he obtained, in 1606, was in a ſhort time diſſipated.

A. D. 1610. Attempts of the parliament.

Whilſt his natural indolence ſhut his eyes on the affairs of Europe, a parliament, which he ſummoned this year, made new efforts to reſtrain the prerogative. The nation being enriched by commerce, and the revenue of the crown not augmented in proportion to the price of proviſions, James ſuffered wants in the midſt of the public opulence. An indiſcreet profuſion daily multiplied theſe wants,

and rendered thoſe ſuccours which the commons were unwilling to grant, ſtill more neceſſary to him. In vain did he repreſent to them, "that Elizabeth had alienated a great part of the domains of the crown; that his expences neceſſarily exceeded his revenue more than eighty thouſand pounds a year, and that the debt of the crown amounted to three hundred thouſand pounds:" all theſe reaſons obtained him only a trifling ſubſidy [e]; the commons wiſhed to take advantage of his neceſſities to keep him in dependance. By virtue of an ancient right of poundage, he received five *per cent.* on all merchandizes. But, as they followed the old valuation, which was not a third of the preſent price, he thought he might reform it, and had done it with an extreme moderation. The commons, notwithſtanding, ſaid in their remonſtrances on this ſubject, "that ſuch a practice threatened the liberty of the kingdom, and attacked the properties of the people." They paſſed a bill to ſuppreſs theſe taxes;

[e] One ſubſidy and one fifteenth.

they

they paſſed another, ſtill more important, againſt all eccleſiaſtical regulations made without conſent of parliament. Theſe bills were rejected by the upper houſe. Theſe bold attempts, and others of the ſame nature, were the more diſagreable to the monarch, as he was ſtrongly attached to thoſe principles of abſolute power eſtabliſhed under the preceding reigns. He had ſaid, in a ſpeech demanding a ſubſidy, "I will not be content that my power be diſputed upon; but I ſhall ever be willing to make the reaſon appear of my doings, and rule my actions according to *my* laws." In a work publiſhed in Scotland, he expreſſes himſelf in theſe terms: "A good king, although he be above the law, will ſubject and frame his actions thereto, for example's ſake to his ſubjects, and of his own free-will, but not as ſubject, or bound thereto." Convinced that the royal authority had no bounds, even in England, he ſaw with indignation that they dared to fix any. He at length diſſolved the parliament, but without weakening the new ſyſtem. Theſe firſt political agitations ſeemed

to predict the violent ſtorms by which the throne was overturned in the reign of his ſucceſſor [*f*].

A. D. 1611. James was more a theologian than a prince. Political affairs affected him ſlightly: controverſy inflamed his zeal. Vorſt, or Vorſtius, taught in Holland the doctrine of Arminius on predeſtination and grace; a doctrine very oppoſite to that of the rigid Calviniſts, who believed in the abſolute decrees of God, even for eternal reprobation. The king perſecuted the profeſſor, even to inſiſting on his being baniſhed by the States General. It had been ſaid, that Vorſtius had conceived ſome deſign againſt England. It is not uſeleſs to obſerve, that the diſputes on the ſubject of Arminianiſm cauſed the greateſt man in Holland, Barnevelt, the father of his country, to periſh on a ſcaffold. The aſſaſſination of Henry the fourth, in 1610, had filled up the meaſure of the enormities of fanaticiſm. This inhuman action ren-

[*f*] This year (1610) was diſtinguiſhed by a memorable event, which gave great alarm and concern in England; the murder of the French monarch (the heroic Henry the fourth) by the poignard of the fanatical Ravaillac.

dered

dered the Catholic religion more deteſtable to the Engliſh, without their ceaſing to be equally enthuſiaſtic in their own faith.

A. D. 1612. A project truly great, and worthy of the higheſt encomiums, a project which had the happineſs of mankind for its object, now employed the king's attention. During four hundred years that England had been attempting totally to ſubdue Ireland, this conquered iſland had retained its ancient manners. A ſtupid ignorance, and abſurd cuſtoms, had kept up the native ferocity of the inhabitants, whom the tyranny of the Engliſh had reduced to the moſt frightful deſpair. The uſage of the Iriſh, like that of the barbarians who had ſo often invaded Europe, was to puniſh the greateſt crimes by fines only; and the lord deputy of Ireland [g] telling Macguire, one of the Iriſh chiefs, that he propoſed to ſend him a ſheriff, he replied, "Your ſheriff ſhall be welcome to me; but let me know before, his *eric*, or the price of his head, that, if my people cut it off, I may levy the

Ireland civilized.

[g] Sir William Fitzwilliams.

money upon the country." James aſcertained property, protected the poor from the oppreſſion of the nobility, cauſed all crimes to be ſeverely puniſhed, introduced agriculture into this uncultivated and fertile country, maintained troops to awe the inhabitants, and aboliſhed their prejudices, and barbarous cuſtoms: in ſhort, after ſome years of attention, he ſucceeded in governing by juſtice and the laws, a nation which appeared incapable of being inſtructed in them; and had reaſon to applaud himſelf on this as the moſt glorious monument of his reign [*b*].

[*b*] This year (1612), the ſudden death of Henry, prince of Wales, diffuſed an univerſal grief through the nation. Though youth and royal birth, both of them ſtrong allurements, prepoſſeſs men mightily in favor of the early age of all princes, it is with peculiar fondneſs hiſtorians mention Henry: and in every reſpect his merit ſeems to have been extraordinary. He had not reached his eighteenth year, and he poſſeſſed already more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more reſpect, than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. Neither his high fortune, nor his youth, had hurried him into any irregular pleaſures. Buſineſs and ambition ſeem to have been his ſole paſſion. His inclination, as well as exerciſes, were intire-

This

This prince, a ſtranger to œconomy, paſſionately fond of favorites, on whom he laviſhed his gifts with an unſparing hand, was unable to find reſources proportioned to his occaſions. After having ſold the title of baronet to ſeveral perſons for two thouſand pounds, and employed thoſe wretched expedients the certain effect of which is to debaſe rather than multiply nobility, he ſaw himſelf obliged to ſummon a parliament. But he found in the commons the ſame ſpirit which had already excited them to reſtrain his prerogative. The office of member of the

A. D. 1614. Parliament's refuſal of ſubſidies.

ly martial. The French ambaſſador, coming to take leave of him, and aſk his commands for France, found him employed in the exerciſe of the pike: "Tell your king," ſaid he, "in what occupation you left me engaged." He had conceived great affection and eſteem for the brave Sir Walter Raleigh. It was his ſaying, "Sure no king but my father would keep ſuch a bird in a cage." Had he lived, he had probably promoted the glory, perhaps not the felicity, of his people. The unhappy prepoſſeſſion, which men commonly entertain in favor of ambition, courage, enterprize, and other warlike virtues, engages generous natures, who always love fame, into ſuch purſuits as deſtroy their own peace, and that of the reſt of mankind. HUME.

lower houſe, before regarded as a burden, was become an object of emulation, from the authority it now aſſumed. This parliament was ſoon diſſolved, without having granted any ſubſidy; and the only fruit of it was an increaſe of diſtruſt and jealouſy between the prince and people. In the ſpace of ſix hundred years, they reckon only three examples of ſubſidies refuſed. The commons ſeemed already to invite the monarch's indignation.

A. D. 1615. Somerſet and Buckingham.

The fall of Robert Carre, earl of Somerſet, who from James's minion was become his miniſter, with no other merit than that of his figure, was one of the principal events of this pacific reign. George Villiers, a young man remarkable for his beauty, his graces, and frivolous accompliſhments, having gained the king's affection the moment he appeared in his preſence, weakened inſtantly the influence of the favorite. The diſcovery of an infamous murder which Somerſet had, in 1613, committed [*i*], precipitated him from the rank to which caprice had

[*i*] That of Sir Thomas Overbury.

raiſed

raiſed him. But the king, whilſt he puniſhed his accomplices, had had the goodneſs, or rather the weakneſs, to pardon him. The fortune of Villiers advanced with aſtoniſhing rapidity. Created duke of Buckingham, maſter of the horſe, lord high admiral, &c. &c. he poſſeſſed in a few years employments ſufficient to have rewarded the ſervices of a number of illuſtrious men. His family roſe with him to opulence. The want of money was increaſed by their new and unworthy acts of profuſion; and James procured it in a manner proper to excite univerſal murmurs. He reſtored to the Hollanders three important places [*k*], which Elizabeth had demanded as ſecurity for the ſums lent to the republic; he contented himſelf with about a third of theſe ſums, which amounted to near ſeven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling [*l*].

A. D. 1617. State of Scotland.

Political views, joined to his theological principles, made him deſire ardently to eſtabliſh in Scotland the rites and maxims of the Engliſh

[*k*] Fluſhing, The Brille, and Rammekins.
[*l*] According to Hume, £. 818,408.

church, ſo favorable to the authority of the crown; no people were leſs ſubmiſſive than the Scots to the royal power. The Highlanders, divided into ſeven clans, compoſed as it were a ſeparate nation, equally intractable and barbarous. The inhabitants of the Lowlands, where the feudal government ſtill ſubſided, were ſtrongly attached to their clans, and to their chiefs, in whom they placed their confidence, and not in the king, whoſe weakneſs they well knew. Hereditary feuds had thrown this kingdom into confuſion, and had been only ſuſpended, from time to time, by the national hatred to the Engliſh. To complete their misfortune, the fanaticiſm of the Calviniſts diſplayed all its fury. The power of the biſhops was almoſt annihilated; the loweſt of the people fancied themſelves united to the Deity by ſpiritual extaſies, and held in abhorrence all the ceremonies ſo neceſſary to hinder the human mind from bewildering itſelf in chimerical contemplations. James, when only king of Scotland, had been compelled to yield to the aſcendant of theſe enthuſiaſts. Become king of England, and

Affairs of religion.

and more able to give the law, he had gained ground by virtue of his right of ſupremacy. He took a journey thither on purpoſe to complete this deſign; propoſing to extend the epiſcopal authority, and to eſtabliſh at the ſame time the ſuperiority of the civil power over the juriſdiction of the clergy. To theſe important objects, he united, with a minute and circumſtantial zeal, a number of ceremonies which he deemed eſſential to divine worſhip. The Scots, more tractable in every other point, ſhewed an extreme repugnance in reſpect to the ceremonies, either from attachment to their own religious forms, or from averſion to the Engliſh cuſtoms. They were not received till after the king's departure. Perſuaded that feſtivals ſerved not only to honor God, but to give the people a due relaxation from their labors, he authorized in England, after divine ſervice, ſuch ſports and exerciſes as did not wound decency or virtue. This ordinance gave great ſcandal to the more zealous reformers.

The famous Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been thirteen years in priſon, devoted A. D. 1618.

Expedition and death of Raleigh.

devoted himſelf there to ſtudy, and had acquired a literary reputation, which threw a ſhade of oblivion over the defects of his character. He was as much regretted as he had been formerly hated. This vaſt genius, this great ſoldier, treated with ſo much rigor, appeared a valuable citizen, who ought to be reſtored to the ſtate. This favorable diſpoſition in the public augmenting his deſire and his hopes of liberty, he flattered himſelf he ſhould obtain it, by reporting, that he had diſcovered in Guiana, during the reign of Elizabeth, a gold mine, from whence might be drawn immenſe riches. James, little affected with a report ſo contrary to probability, took Raleigh notwithſtanding out of priſon, and granted him the command over ſuch adventurers as his gold mine might attract to join in his American expedition, but without granting him a pardon on his former ſentence. Raleigh ſet ſail with twelve veſſels, arrived on the coaſt of Guiana, attacked the Spaniſh town of St. Thomas, notwithſtanding the peace concluded between Spain and England, took this place, found no treaſure

A. D. 1616.

treaſure there, and deſpaired of diſcovering the mine. Raleigh's companions ſuſpected him of having no other deſign than that of conquering the Spaniſh ſettlements on that continent, and forced him to return to England. The king revived the former ſentence, which condemned him, without proof, for high treaſon. In the courſe of the proceedings, he had ſhewn ſome degree of weakneſs. Intrepid at the moment of his execution, he ſaid, feeling the edge of the executioner's ax, *'Tis a ſharp remedy, but a ſure one for all ills.* Though ſeveral perſons believed him innocent, it is ſcarce to be doubted, that under the pretext of a chimerical mine, he had impoſed upon the king. According to the ſtrange principles which the Europeans followed in their conqueſts in the Indies and America, he thought he had acquired to the Engliſh an inconteſtable right to Guiana, becauſe he had ſome time before landed there; and he alſo abſurdly pretended, that the peace with Spain did not regard the new world. He was one of thoſe men, whoſe genius, not being regulated by reaſon, produces rather

His execution.

rather deſigns wild and extravagant than ſublime and truly great. His Hiſtory of the World is eſteemed.

A. D. 1620. If any event could have rouzed the king from his timid inaction, it would have been the diſaſter of Frederic, Palatinate. elector Palatine, his ſon-in-law. Bohemia, induced to revolt againſt the houſe of Auſtria as much by the religious enthuſiaſm of the new ſects, as by the fear of ſlavery, had offered the crown to Frederic, which this imprudent prince had inſtantly accepted. The emperor Ferdinand the ſecond, having defeated him at Prague, deprived him of his hereditary dominions. The Engliſh expreſſed the utmoſt eagerneſs to revenge his quarrel. Zeal for religion, and the honor of the royal family, led them to deſire war with ardor. James could not be brought to ſecond the national ſpirit. He condemned the revolt of the Bohemians, and the attempt of his ſon-in-law. Flattering himſelf that he ſhould get the Palatinate reſtored by negotiation, he determined not to take arms; but, in order to manage his people, and procure ſupplies, he diſſembled his ſecret intentions.

tions. He at firſt tried to raiſe money by a benevolence; an ancient expedient, which the preſent circumſtances rendered ineffectual. He at length ſummoned a parliament, though he had too much reaſon to apprehend its conſequences.

A. D. 1621. Famous parliament.

This parliament is the epocha of the two parties, called afterwards Whigs and Tories, or the Court and Country parties, which, according to Mr. Hume, while they often threaten the total diſſolution of the government, are yet the real cauſes of its permanent life and vigor: a paradox which can only be verified in England. Under the princes of the houſe of Tudor, the great council of the nation ſhewed itſelf conſtantly a creature of the court. Though it retained the privilege of making laws, and giving the money of the people, yet it ſuffered itſelf to be led, and obeyed almoſt implicitly. Without emulation, without principles, without zeal for the ſafety of the citizens, without courage in public affairs, it ſeemed to be ignorant of the Engliſh conſtitution, founded on the Great Charter, or to abandon it to the abſolute power of the ſovereign. We ſhall

ſhall in a ſhort time ſee them paſs from one extreme to the other; jealous of independence rather than of liberty, acting from fanaticiſm rather than public ſpirit, even to that famous revolution which precipitated the Stuarts from the throne, and fixed the limits of the different orders of the ſtate. The firſt ſteps the commons took did not diſpleaſe the king. They granted him two ſubſidies; made him reſpectful remonſtrances on ſome abuſes and monopolies, which he had the wiſdom to correct. The proſecution of the chancellor, Sir Francis Bacon, gave no umbrage. This great genius was ignorant of the art of conducting himſelf with moderation in an exalted ſtation. Having injured his affairs by profuſe expences, he rendered himſelf ſuſpected of corruption by receiving preſents which debaſed his dignity. The houſe of commons accuſed him before the lords. He pleaded guilty to ſeveral articles; and was condemned to pay a fine of forty thouſand pounds ſterling, to be impriſoned, and rendered incapable of any employment. James ſoftened the rigor of this ſentence, which Bacon ſurvived

Trial of Bacon.

ſurvived five years, effacing by his immortal works the remembrace of his errors; and by his diſgrace teaching thoſe who were born to inſtruct mankind, how much the exerciſe of their talents is preferable to the dangerous attractions of fortune.

The audacity of the commons was now ſenſibly increaſed. Nothing eſcaped their ſcrupulous vigilance; they affected to examine the moſt trifling grievances, and to inſpect the rights of the crown even on the ſmalleſt articles. The elector Palatine being reduced to extremity, they repreſented to the king the neceſſity of taking arms; "that the liberties of Europe were in danger, as well as the Proteſtant religion; that the deſign he had conceived of marrying his ſon to a Spaniſh princeſs, would revive the hopes of the Catholics; that his indulgence in reſpect to them had already increaſed their temerity, and that it was become neceſſary to repreſs it by the exact obſervation of the penal laws." James, greatly offended at ſo extraordinary a ſtep, expreſſed his indignation in the ſtrongeſt terms to the commons, forbidding them

them ever to intermeddle in affairs of ſtate; and declaring, that he would puniſh thoſe who had the inſolence to paſs the bounds preſcribed. The commons, far from being intimidated by this menace, purſued their plan with redoubled ardor. They maintained, in reſpectful terms, that they had an inconteſtable and hereditary right to give their opinions in affairs of government, and that it was the buſineſs of the houſe to prevent their members from abuſing ſo invaluable a liberty. When the committee brought this anſwer, James, it is ſaid, ordered his attendants to prepare twelve chairs, *becauſe he was going to receive twelve kings.* He ſtrongly oppoſed the pretenſions of the commons, whoſe privileges, according to him, were conceſſions of favor from the ſovereigns, rather than hereditary rights, and whoſe advice on affairs of ſtate was only lawful when he choſe to aſk it. The houſe, having made a proteſt againſt theſe principles, James hurried to town, ordered the journal-book of the commons to be brought to him; and with his own hand tore out the proteſt. He ſoon after

after diſſolved the parliament; ſent ſome members of the lower houſe to priſon; and forbad all diſcourſe on public affairs; as if he had been able to hinder the people from converſing on thoſe ſubjects which intereſted them moſt.

Such a prohibition could only ſerve to irritate the animoſity of the different parties. Every citizen piqued himſelf on reaſoning on the principles of government. One exalted royal prerogative, another parliamentary freedom. They remounted to the ſource of power, and examined its extent and its limits; diſcuſſions the more dangerous, as, the firſt laws being always imperfect, and the firſt ages covered with profound darkneſs, they found there inexhauſtible materials for contradictions and diſputes. The republican genius ſtrengthened itſelf by argument. It formed a ſyſtem, of which it was eaſy to foreſee the terrible conſequences. If James had not indiſcreetly reſted his authority on maxims which could not fail of raiſing apprehenſions in the Engliſh, would he have ſeen that ſyſtem of independence riſe, which, after having diſturbed the tranquillity

tranquillity of his reign, cauſed the blood of his ſucceſſor to be ſpilt on a ſcaffold?

The elector Palatine, on the other ſide, was reduced to deſpair. Ferdinand had given his electorate to the duke of Bavaria. James's negotiation produced nothing. His weakneſs rendered him contemptible in the eyes of Europe; and they carried this contempt to ſuch an exceſs, as to paint pictures of him with a ſcabbard without a ſword, or with a ſword which ſeveral perſons were ineffectually endeavoring to draw out of the ſcabbard. The marriage of his ſon with the infanta of Spain appearing to him a ſure means of reſtoring the elector, he was more earneſt than ever in ſoliciting this alliance, contrary to the wiſhes of the nation. The court of Madrid had long treated his propoſals with affected delays. Digby, earl of Briſtol, his ambaſſador to Philip the fourth, at length, ſurmounted all obſtacles by his dexterity and wiſdom. The pope had conſented to grant the diſpenſation; an accompliſhed princeſs was on the point of bringing him a rich dowry: the reſtitution of the Palatinate

latinate could not have failed of being the immediate conſequence of the marriage. James with reaſon applauded himſelf on the meaſures he had taken. The man whom he moſt loved, whom he had loaded with wealth and honors, Buckingham, rendered all his cares abortive, by a folly without example.

A. D. 1622. Fooliſh enterprize of Buckingham.

This raſh favorite, to efface the glory Briſtol had acquired, and captivate the prince of Wales's affection, engaged the latter, like an amorous adventurer, to undertake a journey to Spain; perſuading him this mark of gallantry and confidence would charm the princeſs and the Spaniards, haſten the concluſion of the marriage, and procure him the honor of reſtoring his brother-in-law. Charles ſuffered himſelf to be dazzled by theſe romantic ideas. They forced the king, who granted from weakneſs what his judgement diſapproved, to give an unwilling conſent. They ſet off poſt with two or three attendants, and arrived ſoon at Madrid [*m*]. The prince

[*m*] The prince and Buckingham paſſed diſguiſed and undiſcovered through France; and

was received there with the utmoſt magnificence. The graces of his perſon, his gentleneſs and modeſty, gained him all hearts; the treaty was concluded, on conditions advantageous to the Catholics. But Gregory the fifteenth, from whom the diſpenſation had been obtained, dying in the courſe of this tranſaction, Urban the eighth, his ſucceſſor, deferred the confirmation of it, in hopes perhaps that Charles would change his religion in Spain. The prince, impatient of delay, returned with Buckingham to London.

The paſſions of a favorite ſometimes determine the fate of princes and of nations. The earl of Briſtol was not more eſteemed by the Spaniards, than the preſumptuous Buckingham was hated and deſpiſed. His arrogance, his ſallies of paſſion, his diſſolute pleaſures, rendered him equally odious to the people and the court. He felt this ſufficiently to change his views in reſpect to the ob-

they even ventured into a court ball at Paris, where Charles ſaw the princeſs Henrietta, whom he afterwards eſpouſed, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. HUME.

ject of the negotiation. The prince of Wales, whom he governed, adopted his ſentiments. Both of them now turned their thoughts to the moſt effectual means of breaking a treaty from which they had promiſed themſelves ſo many advantages. James had not courage to oppoſe their deſign. An unjuſtifiable rupture with the court of Spain threatened the kingdom with a war: he ſummoned a parliament, in order to obtain ſupplies.

By a falſe narrative of the negotiation, Buckingham found it eaſy to inflame thoſe minds which were already prejudiced againſt Spain. They laviſhed praiſes on him as on the beſt of citizens [n]; and the king, carried along by the torrent, was conſtrained, contrary to his temper and principles, to purſue violent reſolutions, which tended to an inevitable war. He aſked the neceſſary ſubſidies, and ſo far forgot his authority as to offer to make an unexampled and dangerous conceſſion: that a committee of parliament ſhould receive the money A. D. 1624.

[n] Sir Edward Coke, in the houſe of commons, called him, *The Saviour of the nation.*

raiſed, and that the expending it ſhould be intirely intruſted to them. Nothing could be more agreable to the commons. They granted [o] however much leſs than he aſked, and made new attacks on the prerogative. Monopolies were aboliſhed by an act of parliament, as contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom. The ſame act declared, that every ſubject of England had full power to diſpoſe of his own actions, provided he did no injury to any of his fellow ſubjects; and that no authority but that of the laws could reſtrain this unlimited right: a principle which the Engliſh regard as the baſis of their civil liberties. The commons having inſiſted on enforcing the penal laws againſt the Catholics; James replied, "that he did not approve of perſecution, which he judged only proper to make proſelytes, according to that received maxim, *that the blood of the martyrs was the ſeed of the church:* that he equally diſapproved too much indulgence to a religion proſcribed by

Civil liberty.

[o] Three ſubſidies, and three fifteenths.

the

the laws, and would take care to prevent or correct all abuſes in this matter."

Diſgrace of B.iſtol.

He trembled at the difficulties in which the fiery raſhneſs of Buckingham had involved him. Diſguſted with this unworthy favorite, he waited impatiently for Briſtol, to whom he determined to give all his confidence. The ambaſſador having received orders to quit Madrid, Philip the fourth in vain attempted to engage him in his ſervice. He could not even prevail on him to accept at his departure a preſent of ten thouſand ducats, which circumſtances ſeemed to render neceſſary to him. It was to no purpoſe that this monarch aſſured him, that neither James, nor any other perſon, ſhould ever know he had received this preſent. *There is one perſon*, ſaid the generous Engliſhman, *who muſt neceſſarily know it: he is the earl of Briſtol, who will certainly reveal it to the king of England.* This virtuous miniſter hoped the hatred of Buckingham would not prevail over the equity of his maſter; as if a weak prince was not almoſt invariably governed by the

paſſions of others. Briſtol, on his arrival, was impriſoned, and at length ordered to retire to his eſtate, without obtaining permiſſion to prove his innocence. The prince of Wales and Buckingham inſiſted on his confeſſing the pretended faults of which they accuſed him. A reconciliation, offered at this time, appeared to him an inſult. James himſelf ſaid, "that to expect ſuch a confeſſion of an innocent perſon, was the moſt unpardonable tyranny." He ought to have reproached himſelf with permitting injuſtice even whilſt he condemned it.

A. D. 1624. Marriage of the prince of Wales.

This prince, infatuated with the idea that his ſon ought only to eſpouſe the daughter of a king, and ſeeking beſides an alliance capable of aſſiſting him to maintain a war againſt Spain, and repair the misfortune of the Palatine, turned his eyes towards France, where cardinal Richlieu began to act as maſter. Henrietta, daughter to Henry the fourth, was given in marriage to the prince of Wales, with a portion of eight hundred thouſand crowns. One of the conditions was, that their

children ſhould be educated by the mother, or, in other words, in the Catholic religion, till the age of thirteen: an article to which has been generally attributed all the misfortunes of their poſterity, though it remained unexecuted, as well as many other articles evidently dictated by the court of Rome. James died the following year; afflicted to ſee an end of that long peace which he had maintained during his whole reign [p].

The contradictory judgements which have been delivered down, in reſpect to his character, prove the ſpirit of

[p] He expired the 27th of March, 1625, after a reign of twenty-two years and ſome days; and in the fifty-ninth year of his age. He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died ſix years before; a woman eminent neither for her vices nor her virtues; ſhe loved expenſive amuſements and ſhows: but poſſeſſed no taſte in her pleaſures.

He left only one ſon, Charles, then in the twenty-fifth year of his age; and one daughter, Elizabeth, married to the elector Palatine. Theſe alone remained of ſix legitimate children born to him: he never had any illegitimate; and he never diſcovered any tendency, even the ſmalleſt, towards a paſſion for any miſtreſs. HUME.

party with which his hiſtorians were inflamed. If he does not merit the bitter ſatires of one claſs, neither does he the extravagant encomiums of the other. A mixture of good and ill, of laudable qualities and great defects, make the ſame man, conſidered in different points of view, appear no longer the ſame. James the firſt was liberal, but profuſe. One of his favorites [q] ſeeing a porter paſs, loaded with money which he was carrying to the treaſury, ſaid to a perſon near him, *How happy would that money make me!* The king inſiſted on knowing what he had ſaid, and inſtantly gave him the ſum, which amounted to three thouſand pounds ſterling. *You think yourſelf very happy*, ſaid he, in obtaining ſo large a ſum; *but I am more happy in having an opportunity of obliging a worthy man whom I love.* His prodigality reduced him to a degree of indigence. The Engliſh took advantage of this; and, finding the king could not do without their aſſiſtance, determined to give him the law.

His prodigality.

[q] Rich, afterwards earl of Holland.

The

The œconomy of Elizabeth was, as we have ſeen, one of the firmeſt ramparts of the prerogative.

A knowledge, which bordered on pedantry, rendered James a declaimer without rendering him ſkilful in buſineſs, and was perhaps leſs uſeful to him than prejudicial. His principles in reſpect to abſolute power were undoubtedly the governing principles under the houſe of Tudor. He ſhould, however, have obſerved the difference of conjunctures, and how much he riſked by reviving queſtions only calculated to inflame the minds of his people. It has been ſaid, that being at dinner, the biſhops Neil and Andrews attending, he aſked aloud, "whether, if he had occaſion for the money of his ſubjects, he might not take it without conſent of parliament." Neil determined that he might; Andrews eluded the queſtion. James preſſed him to be more explicit: *Then, ſir*, ſaid he, *I think your majeſty may, without offending againſt any law, take my brother Neil's money, ſince he offers it you.* This biſhop, notwithſtanding the attachment of his order to the royal prerogative, certainly thought

differently from the king as to its extent.

The love of peace would have ranked this prince with the benefactors of human kind, if puſillanimity had not had a greater ſhare than wiſdom in theſe pacific ſentiments. England, like the reſt of Europe, deſpiſed in him what has gained great kings the general adoration. His indulgence to the papiſts was founded in humanity. Unhappily, the fanaticiſm of the oppoſite ſects had ſuch influence, that they made a crime of this virtue: a certain proof of the imperfect progreſs of ſcience and literature. Bacon opened an immenſe career to true philoſophy. But the nation did not tread in his ſteps; and even Italy profited little by the leſſons of Galileo. A ſpecies of inquiſition was exerciſed in England, almoſt as harſh, though with different views, as that which in other countries deſtroyed the firſt ſeeds of reaſon and knowledge. Elizabeth had forbid printing, except at London, Oxford, and Cambridge. James forbad giving an impreſſion of any book without permiſſion from the archbiſhop of Canterbury, or of York, the biſhop

Sciences. Literature.

biſhop of London, the vice-chancellor of one of the univerſities, or ſome perſon appointed by them. If they were then unacquainted with the liberty of the preſs, which now ſometimes degenerates into licentiouſneſs, they were not leſs ſo with liberty of conſcience, notwithſtanding the moderation of the prince.

The famous Shakeſpear [r] lived under this reign. His tragedies, too much boaſted of in England, prove that, without any tincture of taſte, genius may command admiration by ſtrokes truly ſublime.

The fine arts, the pleaſures of ſociety, already began to draw the nobility and gentlemen to London, in ſpite of their natural inclination for a rural life. James, obſerving with

[r] There is nothing in which learned foreigners are more miſtaken, than in the imperfect ideas they form of this aſtoniſhing genius, whom nature ſeems to have admitted into her moſt ſecret receſſes. The tranſlator with pleaſure, and perhaps, as a woman, ſome little mixture of pride, refers them to a late vindication of him, in which nervous ſenſe, learning, a perfect acquaintance with the ſubject, true critical taſte, candor, and elegance of ſtyle, are happily blended.

diſpleaſure the increaſe of the capital, exhorted the gentry to retire to their country ſeats. *At London*, ſaid he, *you are like ſhips in a ſea, which ſhew like nothing; but in your country villages, you are like ſhips in a river, which look like great things* [s]. He made ſeveral edicts to prevent the too great increaſe of London. His edicts were ill obſerved; and this city, which, at the beginning of his reign, did not contain above an hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants, is become, like Paris, a gulph which abſorbs the riches which ought to circulate in the provinces.

Finances. Subſidies.

The king's ordinary revenue, in 1617, is ſaid to have amounted to four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds; and the extraordinary ſuccours received from parliament, during his reign, to three millions [t] only. The

[s] This important ſubject is beautifully treated by Sir Richard Fanſhaw, in a Poem written at the command of Charles the firſt; and by the late Dr. Akenſide, in his Ode to the Country Gentlemen of England.

[t] Hume ſays, two millions, two hundred thouſand pounds only, in which the ſale of lands, money due from the States and the king of France, and many other articles, are included.

amount

amount of every ſubſidy was diminiſhed conſiderably, even in the reign of Elizabeth, though the national wealth every day increaſed. This happened, becauſe the new valuations were very negligently made. They taxed men according to the ancient eſtimates of their property. If they had met with loſſes, they eaſily procured an abatement; if they had improved their fortunes, they took care not to ſay ſo. The taxes were become ſo perſonal, that they paid only in the county where they reſided, though they enjoyed eſtates elſewhere. The parliament, towards the end of this reign, was obliged to change the ancient method of raiſing money into a land tax.

Militia, commerce, &c.

Under James the firſt, the price of bread and other proviſions was higher than at preſent. No ſtanding armies were kept up, but the militia were numerous, and well diſciplined: every county regarded this as a point of honor. "The natural propenſity of men towards military ſhews and exerciſes will always," ſays Mr. Hume, "be ſufficient, with a little attention of the ſovereign, to excite and ſup-

port this ſpirit in any nation." The marine and commerce were flouriſhing. Engliſh colonies were very advantageouſly eſtabliſhed in America. The progreſs of agriculture was ſenſibly increaſed. Elizabeth encouraged it, by permitting the exportation of corn, which France long conſidered as hurtful. In ſhort, the pacific reign of James would have completed the happineſs of England, if he had poſſeſſed as much courage as humanity [*u*], and as much prudence as zeal for his prerogative. The following French epigram ſhews the idea generally entertained of him:

" Tandis qu' Elizabeth fut roi,
L'Anglois fut d'Eſpagne l'effroi;
Maintenant deviſe et caquette,
Regi par la reine Jaquette."

[*u*] Upon the whole, it may be pronounced of his character, that all his qualities were ſullied with weakneſs, and embelliſhed by humanity. HUME.

CHARLES

CHARLES the First.

A PRINCE only twenty-five years of age, brave, modeſt, ſober, and virtuous, ſeemed calculated to render England reſpectable to the neighboring nations, and to keep his ſubjects within the bounds of duty and ſubmiſſion. Unhappily, Charles, like his father, gave himſelf up to the man on earth leaſt worthy of his favor. The duke of Buckingham governed him; and the hatred born by the people to the miniſter, could ſcarce fail of being reflected back on the monarch. The new king having, beſides, inherited the principles of James the firſt, and being as firm in his reſolutions as he was eaſy in ſuffering himſelf to be prejudiced by the opinions of others, the ſeeds of diſcord ſpread over the kingdom muſt neceſſarily produce, in his reign, the moſt fatal effects. A. D. 1625. Power of Buckingham.

The firſt parliament [w] which he ſummoned ſoon gave light into the pre- Parliament. Subſidies.

[w] The number of peers in this parliament was ninety-ſeven, without counting the biſhops; ſent

ſent diſpoſition of the nation. Charles expected liberal ſupplies for a war which had been deſired by his people, and which the power of the houſe of Auſtria rendered ſo difficult to maintain. Theſe ſupplies, however, were reduced to two ſubſidies, which amounted to about an hundred and twelve thouſand pounds. Buckingham was become too obnoxious, the king's marriage with a Catholic princeſs had too much diſpleaſed the Puritans, to ſuffer the commons to intereſt themſelves very warmly in obliging the court. Independently of theſe motives, the principal members of that houſe extended their views much farther. Perſuaded that the power of the crown had increaſed at the expence of the liberties of the people, they formed a deſign of reſtraining it within narrower limits. The neceſſities of the prince favored their project, and they were determined not to loſe their advantage. The right of the commons to grant or refuſe the neceſſary

in the firſt of James, only ſeventy-eight. They reckon nineteen peers of this prince's creation. The houſe of commons was compoſed of four hundred and ninety-four members.

ſupplies,

ſupplies, appeared to them an infallible means of obtaining the moſt important conceſſions [x]. This policy diſconcerted the king's hopes. He diſſolved a parliament from which he could expect nothing. With other reſources he, equipped a fleet, and ſent it to the coaſt of Spain, where it failed of ſucceſs.

A. D. 1626. Second parliament.

Obliged again to have recourſe to a parliament, he found there the ſame views as in the laſt, ſupplies very inadequate to his wants, and a reſtleſs ſpirit of liberty. The earl of Briſtol, who had taken his ſeat in the houſe of peers in defiance of the king and his miniſter, ſtood forth the accuſer of his enemy, Buckingham. The commons drew up a ſimilar accuſation. But, however odious were the violences of the favorite, they were not of a nature to convict him of treaſon. The king for-

[x] Animated with a warm regard to liberty, theſe generous patriots ſaw with regret an unbounded power exerciſed by the crown; and were reſolved to ſeize the opportunity, which the king's neceſſities offered them, of reducing the prerogative into more reaſonable compaſs. HUME.

bad

bad the commons to proſecute this affair, and ordered them to proceed inſtantly on the bill of ſupplies. He however gave them to underſtand, that if they refuſed the money of which the crown had occaſion, he would try to follow the example of ſeveral princes of Europe, who had found means to aboliſh the national aſſemblies: an indiſcreet menace, more calculated to excite the ardor of the patriots, than to intimidate them. Two of the members [y], who were impriſoned, gave cauſe for new complaints. The commons declared, all buſineſs ſhould be ſuſpended till they received ſatisfaction in reſpect to their privileges; which procured the enlargement of the two priſoners. Theſe ſteps, followed by violent efforts againſt the Papiſts, and againſt the duties of tonnage and poundage, without the concurrence of the peers, highly exaſperated Charles. After having diſſolved the parliament, he had recourſe to the moſt dangerous expedients; compoſitions with the Catholics to diſpenſe with the penal

[y] Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Elliot.

laws,

laws, benevolences, and forced loans, illegal violences, of which the examples, heretofore ſo common, did not prevent theſe inſtances being judged incompatible with the conſtitution of the kingdom: ſeveral perſons were impriſoned for having refuſed the loans. Some of them threw themſelves on the laws of their country, and demanded their enlargement as a right [z]. This delicate affair was publicly diſcuſſed. The judges refuſed to accept bail for the priſoners, but without determining, as the court deſired, that bail could not be taken for perſons committed by the king or council.

A. D. 1627. Buckingham makes the king break with France.

In this ſtormy conjuncture, Buckingham ſignalized his raſhneſs in a very extraordinary inſtance. He had been ſent to France, to be preſent at the king's marriage by proxy,

[z] Five gentlemen alone, Sir Thomas Darnel, Sir John Corbet, Sir Walter Earl, Sir John Heveningham, and Sir Edmond Hampden, had ſpirit enough, at their own hazard and expence, to defend the public liberties, and to demand releaſement, not as a favor from the court, but as their due, by the laws of their country. HUME.

where,

where, giving the reins to his paſſions, he had dared to raiſe his preſumptuous wiſhes to the queen of Louis the thirteenth [a]. He was preparing to return to that court in the character of ambaſſador, ſtill intoxicated with his romantic paſſion. But cardinal Richlieu diſcovered the myſtery, of which he dreaded the conſequences; and Lewis ſent to forbid his appearance at his court. Buckingham, it is ſaid, ſwore, *he would ſee the queen in ſpite of all the power of France.* Tranſported with rage, and jealous of Richlieu's glory, he determined to arm England againſt the crown which that miniſter had rendered ſo formidable. The duke de

[a] Encouraged by the ſmiles of the court, he had dared to carry his ambitious addreſſes to the queen herſelf; and he failed not to make impreſſion on a heart not undiſpoſed to the tender paſſions. That attachment at leaſt of the mind, which appears ſo delicious and is ſo dangerous, ſeems to have been encouraged by the princeſs; and the duke preſumed ſo far on her good graces, that, after his departure, he ſecretly returned upon ſome pretence, and paying a viſit to the queen, was diſmiſſed with a reproof, which ſavored more of kindneſs than of anger*. HUME.

* Memoires de Madame de Motteville.

Soubize,

Soubize, one of the Hugonot leaders, was then at London, ſoliciting ſuccours; he repreſented in the ſtrongeſt terms the intereſt of the nation to ſupport this party, of whoſe attachment England might be aſſured, and whoſe deſtruction would be ſo fatal to it. The miniſter enforced his arguments and his intreaties. Charles, in the midſt of ſo many domeſtic troubles, ſuffered himſelf to be engaged in this dangerous war; and armed a fleet, which had ſeven thouſand land forces on board, to invade France. Though Buckingham was totally ignorant of the military art, he took the command of this fleet, made a deſcent on the Iſle of Rhé, and failed, by committing the moſt glaring faults. The Rochellers having declared for him, Richlieu formed the deſign of reducing them to unlimited obedience by arms.

A. D. 1628. Third parliament.

Charles called a parliament, his only reſource under his preſent difficulties. The religious zeal of the commons was favorable to a war, undertaken for the preſervation of the French Proteſtants; but the remembrance of the violences of the court, and

and the imprudent reſolution the king declared of taking extraordinary meaſures, if they refuſed to ſecond him now, was an incentive to them to attack the prerogative with redoubled vigor. "If you do not," ſaid he, "do your duties, in contributing to the neceſſities of our ſtate, I muſt, in diſcharge of my conſcience, uſe thoſe means which God has put into my hands, in order to ſave that which the follies of ſome particular men may otherwiſe put in danger. Take not this for a threatening," added he, "for I ſcorn to threaten any but my equals; but as an admonition from him, who by nature and duty, has moſt care of your preſervation and proſperity." This diſcourſe gave too much cauſe for reflection. The cries of liberty were heard in the lower houſe, as they would have been heard in the midſt of a Roman ſenate. "We are called hither by his majeſty," ſaid Sir Francis Seymour, "to give him faithful counſel; ſuch as may ſtand with his honor: and this we muſt do without flattery: we are all ſent hither by the people, in order to

to deliver their juſt grievances; and this we muſt do without fear—he is, I confeſs, no good ſubject, who would not willingly and chearfully lay down his life, when that ſacrifice may promote the intereſts of his ſovereign, and the good of the commonwealth. But he is not a good ſubject, he is a ſlave, who will allow his goods to be taken from him againſt his will, and his liberty againſt the laws of the kingdom. By oppoſing theſe practices, we ſhall but tread in the ſteps of our forefathers, who ſtill preferred the public before their private intereſt, nay before their very lives." This ſpecimen may enable the reader to judge of the reſt of the ſpeech. "O, improvident anceſtors! O, unwiſe forefathers!" cried Sir Robert Philips, "to be ſo curious in providing for the quiet poſſeſſion of our lands, and the liberties of parliament; and at the ſame time to neglect our perſonal liberty, and let us lie in priſon, and that during pleaſure, without redreſs or remedy! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? why trouble ourſelves with diſputes about a conſtitution,

ſtitution, franchiſes, property of goods, and the like! what may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his perſon!" Sir Thomas Wentworth added, "By one and the ſame thing, have the king and the people been hurt, and by the ſame muſt they be cruſhed. We muſt vindicate: what? new things? No: our ancient, legal, and vital liberties; by re-inforcing the laws, enacted by our anceſtors; by ſetting ſuch a ſtamp upon them, that no licentious ſpirit ſhall dare henceforth to invade them."

Petition of right.

By this language it is eaſy to judge of the parliamentary diſcontent. They were determined, at whatever price, to aboliſh levied loans, benevolences, taxes without conſent of parliament, martial law, and above all, arbitrary impriſonments. They held them in abhorrence, as abuſes contrary to the Great Charter, and the national privileges. "Abuſes, ſaid they, can never become laws; and if practice has rendered them too common, it is a proof of the urgent neceſſity of remedying them." In this view the commons paſſed an act, under the title of *the petition of rights*, which

was

was intended to reſtrain the prerogative within its ancient bounds, or rather to reduce it to almoſt nothing. Their bill inſiſted on the Great Charter, the laws of Edward the third, and the ſtatutes of the kingdom; and ended by demanding of the king, "that no perſon, for the future, ſhould be forced to make or grant any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or other ſimilar charge, without a general conſent by act of parliament; that no one ſhould be cited to anſwer interrogatories on oath, be impriſoned, or otherwiſe moleſted, for theſe cauſes, in caſe of refuſal; that no ſubject ſhould be impriſoned or detained in the manner here ſpoken of; that commiſſions for the exerciſe of martial law ſhould be annulled; and that for the future no ſuch commiſſions ſhould be iſſued out, leſt any ſubject ſhould be put to death againſt the laws and liberties of the kingdom, &c."

Charles, ſeconded by the upper houſe, endeavored to parry this blow. He carried his complaiſance ſo far as to declare, "that neither himſelf nor his council would ever impriſon, or conſtrain

conſtrain by any manner of way, any individual, on account of loans, nor for any other cauſe, which he did not in his conſcience believe to be of importance to the public good; adding, that they ſhould find him incapable of alledging doubtful cauſes." The peers had propoſed to the commons to reduce their petition to this point, "that, in caſe, for the ſecurity of his majeſty's perſon, the general ſafety of his people, or the peaceable government of the kingdom, the king ſhall find juſt cauſe, for reaſons of ſtate, to impriſon or reſtrain any man's perſon; he was petitioned graciouſly to declare, that within a *convenient* time, he ſhall and will expreſs the cauſe of the commitment or reſtraint, either general or ſpecial, and, upon a cauſe ſo expreſſed, will leave the priſoner immediately to be tried according to the laws of the land." To take from the monarch the power of cauſing, for any reaſon whatſoever, a ſubject to be arreſted, is to take from him the means of preventing or ſtifling any ſuppoſed evil in a time of preſſing neceſſity [*b*]. What barrier

[*b*] Both reaſon and experience evince, that will

will remain againſt rebellion, when the parliament is not aſſembled? But the commons, inſenſible to this inconvenience, puſhed this point with ardor. The upper houſe paſſed the bill; and Charles, after ineffectual evaſions, was obliged to give his aſſent in the ordinary form, *Let it be law, as is deſired.* The ſpirit of independence now formed new enterprizes, the effect of which the king ſuſpended, by proroguing the parliament.

If the ſentiments of a great part of the clergy had prevailed, far from attacking the royal prerogative, they would have carried obedience farther than the kings themſelves expected. Dr. Manwaring had printed a ſermon, in which he aſſerted, that in caſe of urgent neceſſity, all property was transferred to the monarch; that he might raiſe taxes without conſent of parliament; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, however irregular, which the prince ſhould make upon his ſubjects.

when the neceſſity is *really* preſſing, the monarch may ſafely exert this power; which is all a good prince will deſire.

The two houſes, enraged at this doctrine, had ſeverely puniſhed the preacher [c]. But as ſoon as the ſeſſion was finiſhed, he received from the king, with his pardon, a benefice of conſiderable value; and ſome years after, the biſhopric of St. Aſaph. A very unwiſe policy certainly, to recompenſe that which only ſerved to embitter the ſpirit of the nation!

Two ſubſidies, granted by parliament, ſerved to make new preparations againſt France. An Engliſh fleet had attempted ineffectually to ſuccour Rochelle. Buckingham had procured another to be equipped, when he was aſſaſſinated at Portſmouth, by an officer named Felton, whoſe fanaticiſm delivered England from a miniſter who too well merited the public hatred, and who was totally unworthy of the friendſhip of the two ſucceſſive kings whom he had expoſed to ſo many misfortunes. Poſterity cannot pardon either to James, or his ſon, that blind attachment to a favorite without morals, without virtues, or

Buckingham aſſaſſinated.

[c] By fine, impriſonment, ſuſpenſion, incapacitation, &c.

merit

merit of any kind. To what are ſtates expoſed, when royal favor gives power, and in ſome meaſure diſpenſes with the obligation of exerciſing it wiſely! After the death of Buckingham, the Engliſh fleet preſented itſelf before Rochelle; but was unable to force the mole which Richlieu had cauſed to be conſtructed in the ocean. The rampart of Calviniſm was thrown down by taking this place; and France from this moment became capable of the greateſt enterprizes.

This ill ſucceſs inflamed the ſeditious humor of the male-contents. A. D. 1629. The parliament being re-aſſembled, according to the time of their prorogation, the commons purſued their plan with vigor. Full of the enthuſiaſm of the Puritans, whoſe ſentiments the greater part of the members had, either from conviction or policy, adopted, they exerted themſelves warmly againſt the Catholics whom they deteſted, and the Arminians whom they accuſed of hereſy. But their principal effort was, to force from the king one of his principal pecuniary reſources. The duty of

Tonnage and poundage.

tonnage and poundage on the imports and exports of merchandize, though in its origin a voluntary gift of the people, had been conſidered, from the time of Henry the fourth, as ſo much the right of the crown, that the kings had always raiſed it at the beginning of their reign, even before the parliament had confirmed to them the poſſeſſion of it. They had only granted to Charles for a year, this tax, granted for life to all the princes his predeceſſors. Seeing the commons reſolved to deprive him of it, he informed them, "that he had not taken theſe duties as appertaining to his hereditary prerogative, that neceſſity alone had hitherto obliged him to levy it, and that he deſired a bill to confirm to him this free gift of his people." The demand was the more juſt, as tonnage and poundage made a very conſiderable part of his ſcanty revenue. The houſe was not the leſs inflexible. They gave the name of *public enemies* to the officers who levied this duty, and of *traitors* to thoſe merchants who voluntarily paid it. A few days after, Charles diſſolved the parliament, and provoked

the diſcontented party by many acts of imprudent ſeverity [*d*].

In order to expoſe himſelf no longer to theſe parliamentary ſtorms, he concluded a peace with France, abandoning the Hugonots to the mercy of Lewis the thirteenth; and afterwards with the king of Spain, from whom he obtained only a general promiſe of employing his good offices for the re-eſtabliſhment of the elector Palatine. The victories of Guſtavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, the moſt formidable enemy of the Auſtrian power, contributed much more to revive the hopes of Fre- Peace with France and Spain.

[*d*] Sir Miles Hobart, Sir Peter Heyman, Selden, Coriton, Long, Strode, were committed to priſon, on account of the laſt tumult in the houſe, which was called *ſedition*. With great difficulty, after ſeveral delays, they were releaſed; and the law was generally ſuppoſed to be wreſted, to prolong their impriſonment. Sir John Elliot, Hollis, and Valentine, were ſummoned to their trial in the king's bench, for ſeditious ſpeeches and behavior in parliament; but refuſing to anſwer before an inferior court, as members of a ſuperior, they were condemned to be impriſoned during the king's pleaſure, to find ſureties for their good behaviour, and to be fined, the two former a thouſand pounds, the latter five hundred. HUME.

deric. Charles, at peace with his neighbors, delivered from a burthen above his ſtrength, inſtructed by a ſad experience, moderate by temperament, virtuous by principle, delivered from the fatal counſels of Buckingham, having a wiſe and faithful miniſter in Wentworth earl of Strafford, whom he had detached from the republican party by raiſing him to honors, gave notwithſtanding cauſe for new diſturbances. So difficult is it to govern with ſucceſs, when factions have weakened the ſprings of government!

This prince was a theologian as well as his father, and as zealous for his ſyſtem of religion as for his prerogative. Unhappily he honored with all his confidence, Laud, biſhop of London, a prelate whoſe diſintereſtedneſs, and auſtere manners, undoubtedly, merit praiſe, but whoſe ſuperſtitious prejudices, obſtinate zeal, enterprizing courage, and inflexible firmneſs, could not fail of producing great evils, by their oppoſition to the national ſpirit. Laud had it at heart to exalt the rights of the ſacerdotal character, and to multiply ceremonies in divine worſhip.

ſhip. He introduced ſeveral, differing very little from thoſe of the church of Rome. The Puritans ſaw with horror rites to which they gave the name of *abominable ſuperſtitions*. The communion table ſurrounded by a baluſtrade, the miniſters dreſſed in copes to adminiſter the ſacrament, the communicants obliged to kneel in receiving it, the crucifix and other images placed in the temples, were in their eyes enormities which predicted Antichriſt. They exclaimed, that the biſhop of London labored to reſtore popery. A lady [*e*], having turned Catholic, was aſked by Laud the reaſon. *'Tis chiefly*, ſaid ſhe, *becauſe I hate to travel in a croud. I ſee your Grace and many others are making haſte to Rome; and therefore, in order to prevent my being crouded, I have gone before you.*

If, on one ſide, the biſhop and his partizans extended too far the ſpiritual juriſdiction, and drew on themſelves by this means the hatred of the people; they did not ceaſe, on the other, to preach obedience to the royal autho- Impoſitions.

[*e*] A daughter of the earl of Devonſhire.

rity. It was the infallible means to pleaſe the king. He raiſed Laud to the dignity of archbiſhop of Canterbury, and put him in a ſtate to exerciſe vigorouſly a ſpecies of deſpotiſm. To the duties of tonnage and poundage, to compoſitions with the non-conformiſts, he added a new tax, called *ſhip-money*, for the ſupport of the marine. Every county was charged with a ſum fixed, which they were afterwards to aſſeſs on individuals; and the whole ſum did not amount to more than two hundred thouſand pounds; a moderate ſum, and very uſefully employed; but which appeared an inſupportable burthen, becauſe arbitrary and illegal. Theſe taxes, though applied to the public ſervice, excited violent murmurs. Several ſentences of the ſtar-chamber, and high commiſſion court, tribunals formidable by their power, and abſolutely dependent on the court, increaſed the diſcontent of the nation, which ſaw with ſorrow the king's deſign of governing without a parliament. Prynne, a puritanic lawyer, was condemned to the pillory, to loſe both his ears, and to ſuffer perpetual impriſonment,

ment [*f*], for having written againſt the hierarchy and the innovations of Laud. In a treatiſe on public diverſions, this fanatic maintained, that part of the comedians were papiſts; that every ſtep in a dance was a ſtep towards hell; that the chief crime of Nero had been the frequenting and acting of plays; that this was the principal motive of theſe who conſpired againſt him, &c. Extravagances of this kind inchanted the Puritans, as much as they offended the court. The biſhop of Lincoln [*g*] was cruelly puniſhed, for ſome expreſſions which had wounded the delicacy of Laud [*h*]. But the trial of John Hampden intereſted all England. A ſpirited and generous partizan of liberty, Hampden refuſed to pay twenty ſhillings aſſeſſed on him for ſhip-money. His cauſe was tried, and the pleadings laſted twelve intire days; his counſel maintained with heat, that the king could not legally de-

[*f*] He was alſo fined five thouſand pounds.

[*g*] Williams.

[*h*] This prelate was fined ten thouſand pounds, committed to the Tower during the king's pleaſure, and ſuſpended from his office, on the moſt frivolous pretences.

mand this tax; that the pretended neceſſity was a chimerical ſuppoſition; that it was in his power to call a parliament; that the neceſſary delay of forty days could be attended with no inconvenience, in the preſent peaceable ſtate of the kingdom; that, in ſhort, this attempt of the court was clearly an infringement of the petition of right. The judges, as was foreſeen, condemned Hampden to pay the tax; and the nation began to think itſelf a prey, notwithſtanding the natural mildneſs of Charles, to the dreadful ſcourge of deſpotiſm.

A. D. 1637. The charge was, however, too light, and the application of the money raiſed too uſeful to the ſtate, to have given reaſon to apprehend the ruin of the monarchy, if fanaticiſm, ſtronger than any human paſſion, had not armed the people againſt a king whoſe native qualities merited their love [i].

[i] The impoſition of ſhip-money is apparently one of the moſt daring invaſions of national privileges, not only which Charles was ever guilty of, but which the moſt arbitrary princes in England, ſince any liberty had been aſcertained to the people, had ventured upon. HUME.

This

This prince, after the example of his father, ardently desired to establish in Scotland the discipline and liturgy of the church of England. He loved espiscopacy, and wished to give to the bishops an authority which he judged equally advantageous to religion and the crown. He loved ecclesiastical ceremonies, and was desirous they should be received as essential to divine worship. Without reflecting how obstinately an enthusiastic and ignorant people are generally attached to their religion, however absurd, and full of confidence in his prerogative, the weakness of which he had experienced in such a variety of conjunctures, he sent to the Scots a set of canons, to fix the ecclesiastical worship and jurisdiction. These people were very ill disposed to receive them. The nobility from jealousy of their power, the Presbyterian clergy by their system of equality, hated the episcopal dignity; and the universal hatred against the church of Rome, made the people abhor all which had the least affinity to its practices. On the day appointed, the dean of Edinburgh, in a surplice, began divine service according to

Charles's liturgy: a tumultuous cry was inſtantly heard of, *A pope! a pope! Antichriſt! ſtone him!* The biſhop mounted the pulpit. They threw a ſtool at his head, drove him out of the church, and it was with great difficulty he eſcaped with life. The contagion ſoon ſpread univerſally: the magiſtrates received a thouſand inſults; the clergy declaimed againſt the innovations, and compared the populace, who had ſignalized their zeal, to Balaam's aſs, whoſe mouth the Lord had opened. Four national councils [*k*] aſſembled at Edinburgh, and drew up the famous *covenant*, by which they engaged themſelves by oath to ſupport their profeſſion of faith againſt popery, to reject all innovations, and to defend each other mutually for the maintenance of religion and the *royal authority*. This act reſembles the French *league* in the time of Henry the third. Fanaticiſm is every where the ſame.

A. D. 1638. The covenant.

[*k*] Under the name of *tables*: one was compoſed of nobility, another of gentry, a third of preſbyters, a fourth of burgeſſes.

Charles

Charles had neither ſufficient force to ſtifle this furious revolt, nor prudence to renounce the deſign which had occaſioned it. He only offered to ſuſpend the liturgy till it ſhould be received by legal methods, provided the Scots would on their ſide retract the covenant. Their reply was, "that they would ſooner abjure their baptiſm." He inſenſibly relaxed on all other points, in order to preſerve epiſcopacy; and permited a general aſſembly. This general aſſembly, where the laity were the ſtrongeſt (for they were admitted into it by the Preſbyterians), began by a declaration againſt the biſhops, in which they accuſed them indiſcriminately of every ſpecies of crime. They at length declared void all acts, which reſpected eccleſiaſtical affairs, made ſince the acceſſion of James to the throne of England. Thus the canons, the liturgy, the high commiſſion court, and even epiſcopacy itſelf, was aboliſhed at one ſtroke. So daring a ſtep could only be ſupported by arms. The policy of cardinal Richlieu fomented this rebellion. The male-contents prepared openly to begin a civil war; ſeized the ſtrong

Epiſcopacy aboliſhed.

ſtrong towns; fortified Leith; and the women of quality, confounded with the people, whoſe enthuſiaſm they partook, carried on their ſhoulders the materials which were to be employed in the work. A propheteſs, ſeconded by a furious preacher, ſtrongly inflamed their courage and their zeal. She called our Saviour *the covenanting Jeſus*; what is moſt ſacred in religion, became the motives to the moſt criminal reſolutions.

Fanaticiſm of the women.

A. D. 1639. Though a friend to peace, though affectionate to Scotland, his native country, the king could not delay raiſing troops. By his œconomy, he had been enabled to ſave two hundred thouſand pounds. The queen engaged the Catholics to aſſiſt him with money; a new ſubject of complaints againſt them, the injuſtice of the paſſions transforming good into evil. When at the head of his army, inſtead of acting with the vigor the conjuncture demanded, he ſuffered himſelf to be ſoftened by the firſt ſigns of a feigned ſubmiſſion, and haſtily concluded a treaty which ſpoke more weakneſs than prudence. The eccleſiaſtical aſſembly, and the parliament

Charles takes arms againſt Scotland.

ment of Scotland, were ſummoned to terminate theſe differences. But the firſt, boldly avowing their principles, declared epiſcopacy unlawful, branded with ignominy the liturgy and the canons, and treated the high commiſſion court as tyrannical. The pretentions of the Scots parliament ſoon after laid Charles under a neceſſity of having once more recourſe to arms. His reſources were unhappily exhauſted. The parliament of England alone could furniſh them. He was compelled to call one, after nine years intermiſſion.

A. D. 1640. Fourth parliament.

If the ſpirit of party knew how to keep meaſures, the commons might have prevented the dreadful ills that followed, by a wiſe and moderate conduct. But the king, in vain, preſſed them to grant ſubſidies which were evidently neceſſary. In vain did he give the word of a prince and a gentleman, that they ſhould afterwards have the liberty of continuing their deliberations and making their remonſtrances. In vain he offered to ſuppreſs ſhip-money, the produce of which had always been appropriated to the ſervice of the marine. Their favorite

favorite ſyſtem of independence carried it above all other conſiderations. The greater efforts Charles and his predeceſſor had made to extend the bounds of the prerogative, the more obſtinate had they found the commons in endeavoring to limit it by popular encroachments. The imprudence of thoſe princes had increaſed their temerity. They were proceeding, not only to renew all the paſt complaints of grievances, but to bring in a bill to aboliſh ſhip-money, when the king, either too weak or too precipitate to brave ſtorms, diſſolved this parliament as he had done the three laſt. The convocation, contrary to cuſtom, continued ſitting, and granted him a ſubſidy; the courtiers lent him conſiderable ſums; but theſe reſources were very inadequate to his neceſſities: the diſcontented party were near the moment of their triumph.

Progreſs of the rebels.

It was neceſſary to give battle to the revolted Scots, who had entered England. The royal army marched againſt them. They defeated a detachment from it. Terror ſeized the reſt of the troops; and the rebels took poſſeſſion of Newcaſtle, declaring conſtantly

ſtantly their reſpect and ſubmiſſion to their prince. Strafford adviſed the king, not to enter into any negotiation; but to hazard a battle, the loſs of which could not increaſe the preſent evil. Charles did not purſue this counſel. Conferences were opened; and as it appeared impoſſible henceforth to ſupport the power he had aſſumed, a parliament was called, in order to prevent greater misfortunes. Could there be a greater, than to expoſe himſelf to their attempts, at a time when every thing was to be feared for the throne!

Long parliament.

The criſis of affairs prognoſticated a fatal revolution. Unhappily, the Engliſh conſtitution, obſcure, uncertain, ill-eſtabliſhed, in ages of confuſion and ignorance, opened a vaſt field to quarrels and diſcord. The monarch thought he was ſupporting inviolable rights in maintaining an authority which the Tudors had quietly enjoyed; and feared to diſhonor himſelf by ſacrificing any branch of the prerogative of his crown. The parliament, on the contrary, ſeeing clear and manifeſt encroachments on the laws, placed their glory in defending

fending civil liberty, the ideas of which were better defined than ever, and the love of which was the governing paſſion of the commons. Encouraged by the ſucceſs of their firſt attempts, and animated even by reſiſtance, they forgot the reſpect and ſubmiſſion due to the ſovereign, to eſtabliſh a new ſyſtem of government under the color of reſtoring the ancient to its priſtine vigor. Intereſt, ambition, and above all, fanaticiſm, mixed their formidable influence with that falſe patriotic zeal, which threw their country into flames under pretence of delivering it from deſpotiſm. At the beginning of the ſeſſion, one of the members of the lower houſe complained with bitterneſs, that religion was wounded under the name of Puritaniſm. "Whoever," ſaid he, "is deſirous to conform his actions to divine and human laws, is a Puritan; whoever will not do whatever others determine he ſhall, is a Puritan. The maſter-piece of theſe wicked men is, to render odious and ſuſpected in the ſtate all who profeſs the true religion."

Attempts of the commons.

Strafford was too much devoted to the intereſts of his maſter, too vigi-

lant

lant and too firm in his miniſtry, not to be the principal object of the hatred of the male-contents. The commons determined to ruin him. They accuſed him of high treaſon, as well as Laud, archbiſhop of Canterbury, the man of all the kingdom who had the greateſt aſcendant over the mind of the king. They attributed to both of them, a deſign to eſtabliſh arbitrary power, by overturning the laws and the conſtitution. The peers, whoſe attachment to the crown grew every day weaker, becauſe they had fewer favors to expect, ordered the two accuſed perſons to be arreſted. Two other miniſters had no means of eſcaping impriſonment but flight [*l*]. Theſe violent ſteps rendered the commons ſo formidable, that they found no difficulty in forcing all the barriers of the royalty. Whoever had exerciſed any powers conformable to cuſtom, but not authorized by particular ſtatute, was declared a *delinquent*; a new mode of accuſation, in which were included ſeveral magiſtrates, and other officers capable of importantly ſerving

[*l*] Finch, the lord keeper, and Sir Francis Windebank, ſecretary.

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the crown. They determined, that the conſent of the two houſes, as well as that of the king, was neceſſary to give authenticity to the eccleſiaſtical canons. They aboliſhed ſhip-money, cenſured almoſt every act of government, and took from priſon thoſe ſeditious authors who had inſulted it in libels. The lower houſe, every part of the town, reſounded continually with the moſt furious invectives; and the Puritan preachers blew the flame of fanaticiſm from their pulpits. Their party, become the ſtrongeſt, inveighed againſt the biſhops, and perſecuted the Catholics. The queen's indiſcreet zeal had expoſed the latter to all the fury of the ſectaries, who ſaw with indignation the pope's nuncio, and a number of prieſts and jeſuits, appearing with impunity at court. The city of London preſented to parliament a petition, ſigned by fifteen hundred perſons, deſiring the abolition of epiſcopal government. Similar petitions on almoſt every ſubject became common. It was a method of publiſhing libels with ſafety, and forming aſſociations againſt the king and the eſtabliſhed church.

Thus

Thus the commons, by continual attempts, and an obſtinate perſeverance, uſurped all the power of which they exaggerated the abuſes. Charles was incapable of obſerving a juſt mediocrity in his conduct, and of avoiding thoſe extremes as fatal in politics as in morals. An extreme attention to the defence of his prerogative, had plunged him in this abyſs; an extreme indulgence to his enemies filled up the meaſure of his misfortunes. The commons fixed a very ſhort term to the duties of tonnage and poundage [*m*], in order to revoke or continue it as they judged proper. He conſented to this without difficulty. He paſſed a bill, enacting, that the parliament ſhould be aſſembled every three years; and that, when aſſembled, it ſhould neither be adjourned, prorogued, or diſſolved, without the conſent of both houſes, during the ſpace of fifteen [*n*] days. He filled even the privy council with lords devoted to the popular party, but of whom ſome became the firmeſt defenders of the throne [*o*]. Weak conduct of the king.

[*m*] Two months.

[*n*] Fifty. HUME.

[*o*] It is impoſſible to ſee without the warm-

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A. D. 1641. Trial of Strafford.

Conceſſions ſo extraordinary did not hinder the commons from purſuing with fury the proſecution of Strafford. Four months were employed in digeſting the articles of impeachment. This great man replied with a force of reaſoning and clearneſs of evidence which ought to have confounded his accuſers [p]. But, at the tribunal of the paſſions, the innocent are always culpable

eſt admiration that generous band, Digby, Falkland, Capel, Hyde, Palmer, &c. who, after firmly oppoſing the arbitrary meaſures of Charles, when they ſaw thoſe with whom they had hitherto acted, inſtead of aiming to fix liberty on the unſhaken baſis of law, plunging their country into civil war, and endeavoring to overturn the monarchy in order to riſe on its ruins, joined the king, and nobly ſacrificed their fortunes, and many of them their lives, in defence of the conſtitution.

[p] "Certainly never any man," ſays the candid Whitlock, "acted ſuch a part, on ſuch a theatre, with more wiſdom, conſtancy, and eloquence, with greater reaſon, judgement, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent perſon; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, ſome few excepted, to remorſe and pity." What makes this teſtimony more remarkable is, that Whitlock was himſelf chairman of the committee which managed the impeachment.

when

when their ruin is desired. A few haughty expressions, and irregular acts of power, were not proofs of the crime with which he was charged. High treason had been clearly defined by the laws; and none of the facts alledged had the least resemblance to it. Unable to find just reasons for his condemnation, they contrived to accumulate several articles, which, though separately not condemnable, formed all together a body of proofs sufficient to convict the accused. He demonstrated the injustice of this proceeding. "Impose not, my lords," said he, "difficulties insurmountable on ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with chearfulness their king and country. If you examine them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable. The public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste; and no wise man, who has any honor or fortune to lose, will ever engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown perils."

How plausible soever were the replies of Strafford, the lower house passed the bill

Strafford condemned.

bill of attainder againſt him. They then endeavoured to force the conſent of the king and the lords. They took care to ſpread reports calculated to inflame the people. They talked of conſpiracies, and attempts againſt the nation. The papiſts were ſaid to have engaged in a plot to blow up the Thames with gunpowder, in order to drown the Puritans. Theſe abſurd reports produced their effect. The populace were inflamed; the upper houſe intimidated. Of about eighty peers who had attended at the trial, only forty-five were preſent when the bill of attainder was brought into the houſe; and of theſe, nineteen had the courage to vote againſt it. An evident proof, that if the ſuffrages had been free, the bill would have been rejected by a great majority.

The royal palace was immediately inveſted by the populace, who demanded juſtice againſt Strafford. The queen, the courtiers, adviſed the king to cede to this violence. Juxon, biſhop of London, alone had the courage to ſay, "that if he thought the bill unjuſt, he ought not to conſent to it." In the midſt of theſe cruel perplexi-

ties,

ties, Charles received a letter from the earl, in which this generous minister entreated him to sacrifice his innocent life. Necessity at length determined the king. He named four commissioners to give the royal assent to the bill, not being able to resolve to give it with his own hand. Strafford, at this unexpected news, testified his surprize by this passage of scripture, too applicable to his circumstances, *Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation.* He went to death with the most heroic firmness. *I fear*, said he, on the scaffold, *that it is a bad omen for the intended reformation of the state, that it commences with shedding of innocent blood.* Charles to the end of his life reproached himself with this weakness, as a crime. He had promised the earl, that the parliament should not touch *a hair of his head*; and he could not pardon himself for having consented to his death. This famous minister repeated often to his master this memorable maxim, "That if any inevitable necessity ever obliged the sovereign to violate the laws, this licence ought to be practised with ex-

His execution.

treme reſerve, and, as ſoon as poſſible, a juſt atonement be made to the conſtitution, for any injury which it might ſuſtain from ſuch dangerous precedents." He was not, certainly, exempt from faults; but Rapin appears to us too much prejudiced againſt his merits. Strafford had governed Ireland, and had acquired, in this important and difficult commiſſion, an eternal right to the gratitude of the public. His attention, his vigilance, his firmneſs, had preſerved peace, increaſed the revenues, encouraged agriculture and induſtry, eſtabliſhed manufactures, rendered the marine an hundred times more powerful than he found it, and even conciliated the intereſts of the king with thoſe of the people, without meriting the leaſt ſuſpicion of peculation. They charged him, as a crime of ſtate, with ſeveral acts of arbitrary juriſdiction, juſtified by cuſtom and by particular conjunctures: they forgot his ſervices, becauſe he was the friend of Charles, and the ſupport of the throne.

The ſame commiſſioners who ſigned the bill againſt Strafford, ſigned another more fatal to the royal authority.

thority. The army of England, and that of Scotland, ſtill ſubſiſting, though in a ſtate of perfect inaction, were paid by the commons, with money borrowed of the city of London. On their demand of a new loan, the citizens made ſome difficulty; alledging the uncertainty of their being reimburſed when the parliament ſhould be diſſolved. Whether the affair was concerted or not, it produced a bill, to declare the parliament ſhould not be diſſolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without their own conſent. The king, by paſſing this act, rendered himſelf, in ſome meaſure, the ſlave of his oppreſſors. The commons, reſolved to annihilate all remains of arbitrary power, attacked the high commiſſion court and ſtar-chamber, whoſe irregular and unbounded juriſdiction put real fetters on civil liberty. Both were aboliſhed. This was the greater blow to the power of the crown, as the ſtar-chamber alone puniſhed infractions of the royal edicts. The right of iſſuing theſe edicts was now in effect abrogated, ſince the prince had no longer any means of enforcing their execution.

The nation had, during a year, maintained the Scots army, the neighborhood of which was uſeful to the factious. Theſe troops were at length diſmiſſed, with a gratuity of three hundred thouſand pounds; and their expedition praiſed in the act of pacification, *as tending to the honor and advantage of his majeſty*. So formal an inſult put the laſt hand to the humiliation of the ſovereign. Having
A. D. 1641. paſſed into Scotland, he ſuffered himſelf to be there, as well as in England, deſpoiled of his authority, in order to preſerve a vain ſhadow of royalty. It was enacted, that no judge, officer of ſtate, or member of the privy council, into whoſe hands the adminiſtration might, during the king's abſence, fall, ſhould be appointed but by advice and approbation of parliament [*q*].

It was the deſtiny of Charles the firſt, to ſee the ſame flame kindled at once in his three kingdoms. Ireland had continued peaceable ever ſince the introduction of laws and ſubordination. Strafford, whilſt he governed

[*q*] The princeſs Mary was this year married to William prince of Orange.

it,

it, had in a great meaſure perfected the work begun by James. But this people ſtill hated the Engliſh, and eſpecially their religion. The more zealous Catholics from their brutal and ſuperſtitious ignorance, the Iriſh could not without horror ſee a number of Puritans diſperſed in their country. The public diſturbances in England and Scotland revived in them the ſpirit of independence. Some daring chiefs formed the project of a revolt. All that fanaticiſm has moſt ferocious blazed out in the execution of their deſign. They maſſacred the Engliſh with an unheard-of fury. Women, children, lent their hands to this inhuman carnage. More than forty thouſand victims were immolated; and thoſe who eſcaped, ſuffered inexpreſſible miſeries. Theſe barbarities appeared a holy work, to men in whom ſuperſtition ſtifled every ſentiment of nature. In the moment when their daggers pierced the boſoms of their defenceleſs Proteſtant brethren, the aſſaſſins, with a ſavage exultation, echoed in their ears threats of that eternal damnation into which they were going to precipitate them. Dub-

Iriſh maſſacre.

lin, the capital of the kingdom, was on the point of falling into the hands of the rebels. Beſides the pretext of religion, they ſought to cover their crime with colors ſtill more ſpecious. They ſpread a report, that the king and queen authorized them to take arms, to defend the prerogatives of the crown. A forged commiſſion, to which they had put a ſeal which they had torn from a patent, ſerved to give credit to this impoſture, of which Charles's enemies did not fail to avail themſelves as a reality.

New attempts againſt the king.

He received in Scotland the news of this inſurrection. The Scots, ſo jealous for their religion when it furniſhed them with pretences to attack the king's authority, were much leſs ſo when it ought to have animated them againſt the Iriſh rebels. They made no haſte to puniſh thoſe furious Catholics who had taken advantage of the difficulties into which their conduct had thrown the king. After granting a very inſufficient aſſiſtance to their prince, they ſent commiſſioners to London, to take new meaſures with the parliament againſt him. Charles, on his ſide,

ſide, was fully ſenſible that this parliament, notwithſtanding all his conceſſions, ſtill nouriſhed the moſt fatal deſigns. His indulgence, or his weakneſs, led him to take a ſtep which the commons abuſed. After having repreſented to them how neceſſary it was to carry on the Iriſh war with vigor, he added, that he committed the conduct of this war to their care and wiſdom. This was offering them the means to reduce himſelf to extremity. They ſeized the opportunity; levied money, and took arms from the king's magazines, under pretence of the Iriſh expedition, but really in the deſign of entirely ſubduing this unhappy prince. Never did Preſbyterian bigotry better ſecond the ſpirit of faction. Whilſt Charles, zealous to reduce the Iriſh, breathed a juſt revenge on their cruelties, the people accuſed him of favoring their religion, and having himſelf fomented the rebellion.

In this important criſis, the commons publiſhed their famous *Remonſtrance*, which had not even been ſent up to the peers, which was not

addreſſed to the king, and which was a ſort of appeal to the people in reſpect to his conduct, which they cruelly miſrepreſented. Paſſion alone muſt have dictated this work. Why envenom ancient grievances? why exaggerate abuſes already ſo rigorouſly reformed? what could they aſk more, unleſs they intended to deprive him of all power? This was undoubtedly the aim of the commons. They demanded of the king, that he ſhould admit into his counſels, and employ in his affairs, only perſons in whom the parliament could confide; that is to ſay, men of their own body, or their own party. Charles took care to diſperſe his anſwer to the Remonſtrance, or, to ſpeak with more propriety, the ſatire, which tended to excite the nation to rebellion. But an apology wrote with decency and moderation, was not calculated to weaken popular prejudices. In a bill relating to the preſſing of ſoldiers, the lower houſe in the preamble declared this power *in the crown* to be deſtructive to public liberty. Nothing was, however, more conſonant to cuſtom:

no

no branch of the prerogative more eſſential or reſpectable [r]. The king went himſelf to the houſe of peers, to point out the inconveniences of ſo dangerous an act. The two houſes paſſed a vote, that the king had been guilty of a high breach of the privileges of parliament, in taking cognizance of this bill before it had been carried through the upper houſe. They ſtudied to find all his actions criminal. The majority of the peers, notwithſtanding, oppoſed the deſigns of the commons againſt the rights of the ſovereign. They foreſaw the conſequences to themſelves. The commons had the inſolence to tell them, "that themſelves, repreſenting the body of the nation, were authorized to act without their concurrence."

A. D. 1642. The biſhops attacked.

The Romiſh religion, and the hierarchy, which they affected always to confound, were attacked with more violence than ever. If the lower houſe,

[r] By a neceſſary conſequence, the prerogative which the crown had ever aſſumed, of obliging men to accept of any branch of public ſervice, was aboliſhed and annihilated: a prerogative, it muſt be owned, not very compatible with a limited monarchy. HUME.

in this inſtance, acted from their own prejudices, they alſo with great addreſs put in motion the fanaticiſm of the people: no means of overturning a ſtate ſo infallible, as when a miſtaken religious zeal extinguiſhes the natural light of reaſon. A report was induſtriouſly ſpread, that the papiſts and the partizans of epiſcopacy, were conſpiring the ruin of the kingdom. The people aſſembled tumultuouſly, the cry continually reſounded againſt biſhops, and *rotten-hearted lords*. This diſorder went ſo far, that the biſhops drew up a proteſt, declaring, "that not being able any longer to attend their duty in the houſe of peers with ſafety, they proteſted againſt all which ſhould be tranſacted in parliament during their abſence." This precipitate ſtep was a triumph to the commons. The biſhops were impeached. No one ventured to undertake their defence, and they were committed to cuſtody. Somebody ſaid, "they deſerved only to be ſent to Bedlam."

The king's imprudence.

If it is true, as has been ſuppoſed, that the aim of the commons, in violating all decency, was to provoke the king to ſome imprudence which might ruin

ruin him, their policy was juſtified by the event. Charles, irritated beyond human bearing, deſpoiled, inſulted, animated beſides by the importunity of the queen, and others about him, determined immediately to ſtrike one vigorous blow, after ſo many proofs of complaiſance and weakneſs. He ſent his attorney general [s] to the houſe of peers, to accuſe lord Kimbolton, and five commoners [t], of high treaſon, in having traiterouſly endeavored to ſubvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, to deprive the king of his regal power, and to impoſe on his ſubjects an arbitrary and tyrannical authority, to excite the people to a revolt, and ſubvert the rights and very being of parliament, &c. This accuſation might have fallen, with equal reaſon, on every member of the lower houſe, and he ought therefore to have foreſeen the rage it would excite. A ſerjeant at arms came to the houſe, to demand the five accuſed

[s] Herbert.

[t] Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode.

members; meſſengers were to no purpoſe employed to ſearch for and arreſt them; the king at length came in perſon to the houſe [u], declared his deſign, aſſured them "he never intended any force, but meant to proceed againſt them in a legal way." The accuſed perſons, informed of his deſign, had had time to retire. Not ſeeing them, he aſked the ſpeaker, whether any of them were there. "Sir," replied the ſpeaker, "I have neither eyes to ſee, nor tongue to ſpeak, in this place, but as the houſe is pleaſed to direct me, whoſe ſervant I am. And I humbly aſk pardon, that I cannot give any other anſwer to what your majeſty is pleaſed to demand of me." The next morning, Charles ſent to the mayor, and ordered him to call a common council, went himſelf thither without guards to inſpire the more confidence, told them he had accuſed certain men of

[u] This ſtrange reſolution was diſcovered to the counteſs of Carliſle, ſiſter to Northumberland, a lady of great ſpirit, wit, and intrigue. She privately ſent intelligence to the five members; and they had time to withdraw, a moment before the king entered. HUME.

high

high treaſon, againſt whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore hoped they would not meet with protection in the city.

The king inſulted. Petitions to parliament.

All the ſtreets through which he paſſed reſounded with ſeditious cries, *Privilege of parliament, privilege,* exclaimed the populace. One man had the inſolence to approach the coach, and call out, with the Iſraelites when they abandoned Rehoboam, *To your tents, O Iſrael!* The five members were ſoon after conducted in triumph to the houſe. They received petitions from all parts of the kingdom, which proved the inſurrection general. The porters preſented one, in which, after having inſiſted in a ſenatorial ſtyle on the privileges of parliament, the danger of religion, and the decay of trade, they demanded juſtice on the guilty perſons; adding, *that if ſuch remedies were any longer ſuſpended, they would be forced to extremities not fit to be named, and make good the ſaying, That neceſſity has no law.* This rage ſeized the very women. They expreſſed in very lively terms the terror which they had conceived of the Papiſts

Papiſts and the biſhops. "The women," ſaid they, "have equal right with the men to preſent a petition, in reſpect to public affairs; *becauſe Chriſt has purchaſed them at as dear a rate, and in the free enjoyment of Chriſt conſiſts equally the happineſs of both ſexes.* This extravagant petition was approved by the commons. One was alſo preſented from the beggars, who were thanked by the commons for their zeal. Every means appeared fair and honeſt, provided it appeared proper to foment diſcord.

The king quitted London, where he did not think himſelf in ſecurity. In vain did he endeavor to repair, by an exceſs of condeſcenſion, the injury he had done himſelf by an exceſs of precipitation. He offered a pardon for the accuſed, and all the commons could wiſh, as a reparation of the breach of their privileges. They inſolently demanded, that he ſhould begin by diſcovering thoſe who had adviſed him to an act of violence ſo contrary to the laws: they inſiſted, he ſhould diſhonor himſelf in order to ſatisfy them. His ill-

ill-judged conduct had thrown him into an abyss, and their artful policy left him no way to get out of it. Fear drew from the peers, and from himself, an involuntary consent to the pressing bill, and the bill against the bishops votes. Scarce did a shadow of the royalty remain. The queen, whose imprudent zeal had rendered the Catholics more odious than ever, met with every outrage from their enemies; her confessor was imprisoned: fearing to be herself impeached, determined on flight, and without hope for her husband, she no longer gave him any but the most timid counsels. But the commons were resolved to fix their usurpations by force of arms. So long as the military power was in other hands, they could not depend on the future. It was necessary to disarm the king intirely, in order to exercise in his stead an undisturbed and independent authority. In this view, under the pretext of Popish plots, they made an ordinance which increased the power of lieutenants and their deputies, whose names were inserted in the ordinance,

nance, in ſuch a manner, that they were all choſen by the houſe; and which rendered them reſponſible for their conduct, not to the king, but to the parliament. They preſſed the monarch to conſent to it; they joined menaces to entreaties; they at length invited him to return to the capital, becauſe they were ſure there of keeping him in ſervitude. His reply paints the cruel agitation of his ſoul. "I am ſo much amazed at this meſſage," ſaid the king, "that I know not what to anſwer. You ſpeak of jealouſies and fears! Lay your hands on your hearts, and aſk yourſelves whether I may not likewiſe be diſturbed with fears and jealouſies; and if ſo, I aſſure you, that this meſſage has nothing leſſened them. For my reſidence near you, I wiſh it might be ſafe and honorable, and that I had no cauſe to abſent myſelf from Whitehall: aſk yourſelves whether I have not. What would you have? Have I violated your laws? have I denied to paſs any bill for the eaſe and ſecurity of my ſubjects? I do not aſk, what you have done for me?" He ended by

Demands of the commons. The king's reply.

by proteſting his upright intentions, which inſpired him with confidence in the divine protection.

The commons inſtantly paſſed a vote, "that the king's anſwer was a refuſal; that thoſe who adviſed it were enemies to the ſtate; that if he perſiſted in his reſolution, it would endanger the peace and tranquillity of all his kingdoms, unleſs ſome ſpeedy remedy were applied by the wiſdom and authority of both houſes; and that ſuch of his ſubjects as had put themſelves in a poſture of defence againſt the common danger, had done nothing but what was juſtifiable, and approved by the houſe. Charles now leſs feared their inſolence. He had retired to York, where he was ſurrounded by perſons faithful to his ſervice; and he reſolved never to paſs the militia ordinance. Theſe daring enemies of the crown, in contempt of all laws, now named lieutenants for all the counties, and gave them the command of the militia, the garriſons, of all the fortreſſes, obliging them to obey his majeſty's orders, *ſignified by both houſes of parliament:* or, in other words, the parliament's orders, ſignified in the

the king's name, for the purpoſe of dethroning him. Both parties publiſhed manifeſtoes, the forerunners of civil war. Thoſe of the king bore the ſtamp of evidence, to which the commons could only oppoſe calumnious invectives. The detail of the ſacrifices he had made to his people, of the conceſſions he had granted, of the violences and inſults which had been the reward of his condeſcenſion, ſufficiently demonſtrated the juſtice of his cauſe. From a noble confidence in his arguments, he diſperſed every where the writings of the parliament with his own, whilſt the parliament labored anxiouſly to ſuppreſs his.

Manifeſtoes.

Lord Falkland, ſecretary of ſtate, equally celebrated for his virtues and knowledge, is regarded as the author of a great part of the king's declarations [*w*] and memorials. The Engliſh conſtitution is there very minutely defined. The three ſpecies of government, the monarchical, ariſtocratical, and democratical, are there

[*w*] Lord Clarendon, in the ſequel of his hiſtory, publiſhed a few years ſince, aſſerts, that he was the author of moſt of them.

plainly

plainly diſtinguiſhed; and the Engliſh government is painted as a mixture of all three, blended together, and tempered by each other. Hume obſerves, that this was a ſtyle no former king of England would have uſed, and that many royaliſts blamed this philoſophical preciſion in the king's penman. But liberty, according to him, reaped mighty advantages from theſe controverſies and enquiries; and the royal authority itſelf became more ſecure, within thoſe provinces which were aſſigned to it.

Both ſides prepare for war.

So important a diſpute could not be terminated by the pen. Both ſides raiſed troops. The parliament went ſo far as to vote on this occaſion, "That when the lords and commons in parliament ſhall declare what the law of the land is, to have this not only queſtioned, but contradicted, is a high breach of their privileges." Charles intending to make himſelf maſter of the magazine of arms at Hull, the governor [x] ſhut the gates againſt him. The two houſes, not content to juſtify this action, pub-

[x] Sir John Hotham.

liſhed

liſhed a declaration, "That the king, ſeduced by wicked counſel, intended to make war againſt his parliament; that this attempt was contrary to his oath, and tending to a diſſolution of the government; and that whoever ſhould aſſiſt him in ſuch a war, were traitors by the fundamental laws of the kingdom." The preparations were only made with the more ardor. The parliament levied, under the name of *loan*, conſiderable ſums of money, and an immenſe quantity of plate. The people vied with each other in deſpoiling themſelves, to witneſs their zeal. The women of London, in particular, delivered in every thing of value they poſſeſſed, their ornaments, and even their ſilver thimbles; felicitating themſelves on ſerving the cauſe of God againſt the wicked. But a great part of the peers embraced the king's party, and retired to York. Charles proteſted to them, "that he did not expect from them obedience to his orders, any farther than as they were conformable to the laws;" and the lords, on their ſide, declared, "that they would receive no other orders." This prince appeared truly great, when he

he diſplayed the moral virtues of his character; he had only erred from a want of political wiſdom. The queen, the worthy daughter of Henry the fourth, labored for him in Holland; and ſent him a great quantity of arms and ammunition, purchaſed with the jewels of the crown.

The humiliating propoſitions of the parliament were rejected with ſpirit. "Should I grant theſe demands," ſaid Charles in his reply; "I may be waited on bareheaded; I may have my hand kiſſed; the title of majeſty may be continued to me; and *the king's authority, ſignified by both houſes*, may be ſtill the ſtyle of your commands; I may have ſwords and maces carried before me, and pleaſe myſelf with the ſight of a crown and ſceptre (though even theſe twigs would not long flouriſh, when the ſtock upon which they grew was dead): but as to true and real power, I ſhould remain but the out-ſide, but the picture, but the ſign, of a king." His reſolution was taken: "They had," he ſaid, "taken from him his towns, his ſhips, his arms, his money; but there ſtill remained to him a good cauſe, and the Firmneſs of Charles.

hearts of his loyal ſubjects; which, with God's bleſſing, he doubted not, would recover all the reſt." The nobility, the greater part of the gentry, the partizans of the church of England, and the Catholics, declared in his favor [y]. Moſt of the great towns, naturally inclined to republican ſentiments, and the Preſbyterian religion, and eager for independence, followed the contrary party. The parliament, maſters of the ſea-ports and the navy, the riches of the nation at their diſpoſal, ſeemed to have all the advantage on their ſide, and thought the king unable to engage in a civil war.

A. D. 1643. Firſt hoſtilities.

The royal army, however, though at firſt extremely weak, became ſoon ſufficiently ſtrong to be the object of their fears. Charles was himſelf brave; he had with him, the princes Rupert and Maurice, his nephews, ſons to the elector Palatine, both full of courage, and capable of command. In a long ſucceſſion of hoſtilities, of which we ſuppreſs

[y] On the 22d of Auguſt, 1642, he erected the royal ſtandard at Nottingham.

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the minuter circumſtances, the royaliſts had generally the advantage. After having gained ſeveral battles, they beſieged and took Briſtol, the ſecond city of the kingdom. Some of them propoſed to go directly to London. But they were reſtrained by the difficulties of the attempt; and the king formed the ſiege of Gloceſter, the reduction of which was of great importance [z].

Maſſey, a ſoldier of fortune, was the governor. Two of the citizens, with pale uncouth viſages, and habits of the ſtrangeſt kind, which ſtrongly marked the Puritan fanaticiſm, came to the camp, to bring an anſwer to the king's ſummons. Their anſwer was a new inſult. They told him, "they kept that city, according to their oaths and allegiance, to and for the uſe of his majeſty, and his royal poſterity: and did accordingly conceive themſelves wholly bound to obey the commands of his majeſty *ſignified by both houſes of parliament*;

Siege of Gloceſter.

10th of Auguſt.

[z] A few days before the commencement of this ſiege, the celebrated Hampden was killed in repelling an attack of prince Rupert on the parliament's quarters.

liament; and were reſolved by God's help, to keep this city." The attacks were vigorous, the defence was not leſs ſo. The brave Maſſey took advantage of the enthuſiaſm of his garriſon, who ran to death as to the crown of martyrdom. But the ſcarcity of proviſions and ammunition at length reduced them to the laſt extremities.

London was in the utmoſt conſternation. The celebrated poet, Waller, a member of the lower houſe, had lately formed a deſign to force the parliament to make peace; and though it was diſcovered, and the conſpirators puniſhed, a great number of perſons loudly demanded a period to the public troubles. The commons, poſſeſſed of deſpotic authority, exerciſed it in the moſt tyrannical manner. Determined againſt any equitable accommodation, they turned all their attention to raiſing the ſiege of Gloceſter. The expedient of preſſing, which had appeared ſo heinous in the ſovereign, was put in practice without the leaſt ſcruple. They raiſed an army of fourteen thouſand men; and the earl of Eſſex, the parliament's general, led it to the aſ-

ſiſtance

siſtance of the place, of which the king was on the point of rendering himſelf maſter. They had only one barrel of powder remaining. Charles was obliged to raiſe the ſiege; but haſtened to Newbury, by which Eſſex's road lay, in order to give him battle. The two armies performed prodigies of valor. That of the parliament would have been defeated, if the militia of London, though utterly unexperienced, had not fought with the moſt unconquerable firmneſs. The victory was deciſive [a]. The king

Battle of Newbury. Death of Falkland.

[a] While the armies were engaged with the utmoſt ardor, night put an end to the action, and left the event *undecided*. HUME.

In the night, the king *retired* with his army; and left the way open to the earl of Eſſex to go to Newbury, where he intended to lodge the night before. RAPIN.

Whitlock ſays, though the king's troops, eſpecially the horſe, made a gallant reſiſtance, yet the *foot were beaten*, and in the night marched away, leaving Eſſex maſter of the field.

The tranſlator a little ſuſpects, that this paſſage of Milot is an error of the preſs, of which there are a great number: one of them, in the ſecond volume, page 315, has betrayed her into accuſing her author of a miſtake which, ſhe has ſince obſerved, is of the preſs only.

However this may be, it is a circumſtance ſtrongly favoring the opinion that the parlia-

loſt much in this battle by the death of Lucius Cary, lord viſcount Falkland, that virtuous and able miniſter, who, at the age of thirty-four years, poſſeſſed merit above all praiſe. A zealous parliamentarian whilſt he believed civil liberty attacked by the crown; he had embraced the king's party when he ſaw them determined to annihilate the monarchy and the conſtitution. He ſunk under the idea of the public misfortunes; and lamenting them the morning of the battle in which he fell, "I am weary," ſaid he, "of the times, and foreſee much miſery to my country; but believe that I ſhall be out of it ere night [*b*]." They fought alſo in the North without any deciſive ſucceſs. The marquis of Newcaſtle there ſupported the royal cauſe; Sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the other party.

The Scots declare for the parliament.

Charles, by making peace with Scotland, did not alter the turbulent diſpoſition of this fanatic nation.

ment army was ſucceſsful, that Eſſex carried his point, and the king failed in his.

[*b*] In this battle were alſo ſlain, the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, two noblemen of promiſing hopes.

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The parliament attached the Scots, leſs by the conſiderable ſums advanced to pay their army, than by their zeal for the Preſbyterian diſcipline. They took care to profit by their inclinations, and to arm them in their own favor againſt a king, whoſe greateſt crime, in their eyes, was his ſupporting the church of England. Commiſſioners, ſent [c] to Edinburgh, played off with ſucceſs the whole battery of enthuſiaſm and policy combined. They framed *the ſolemn league and covenant*, which obliged the ſubſcribers to attack, without reſpect of perſons, popery, prelacy, hereſy, and profane ceremonies; to diſcover and bring to juſtice all incendiaries and malignants; and to reform the two kingdoms, according to the word of God, and the example of the pureſt churches. The covenant was to be univerſally ſigned. The Scots, in conſequence, raiſed an army of more than twenty thouſand men, to aſſiſt

[c] The earl of Rutland, Sir William Armine, Sir Henry Vane the younger, Thomas Hatcher, and Henry Darley, attended by Marſhal and Pye, two Preſbyterian clergymen.

the parliament. Charles, on his ſide, concluded a truce with the Iriſh rebels. The marquis of Ormond, who was devoted to him, ſent immediately into England ſeveral bodies of troops, the greater part of which entered into his ſervice. The parliament, always attentive to make religion the engine of their ambitious views, accuſed the king of having ſpared the Iriſh papiſts, at the very moment when they were endeavoring to ſnatch the crown from his head.

A. D. 1644. Though this prince had in the beginning of the war gained ſeveral advantages over his enemies, the parliamentarians became daily more formidable, either from their ſtrict diſcipline, which their religious prejudices contributed to maintain, from the experience which they every day acquired in military affairs, or the veneration in which the nation held the parliament, the very name of which brought a great number to their ſtandards. To remedy this evil, Charles thought of an expedient which had been hitherto overlooked: this was, to ſummon to Oxford thoſe members of

the two houſes who had declared on his ſide. The number of peers was double thoſe who remained at Weſtminſter; but there were only an hundred and forty commoners, and the lower houſe at Weſtminſter conſiſted of twice that number. The king ſet forth in a declaration all the violences which had compelled him and his partizans to quit London; he concluded with aſſerting, that the parliament at Weſtminſter was not free, and therefore ceaſed to have any lawful authority. That of Oxford procured him money, the only aſſiſtance he could expect from them. Every offer of accommodation being found ineffectual, becauſe the aſſembly at Weſtminſter, with reaſon, apprehended an examination of their reciprocal pretenſions, they plunged again into all the horrors of civil war.

The troops which Charles had drawn from Ireland had at firſt very great ſucceſs; but Sir Thomas Fairfax ſoon diſperſed them. The earl of Mancheſter, one of the parliament generals, joined the Scots, who had entered the kingdom. He was on the point of taking York, when prince

Rupert appeared ſuddenly, and inſiſted on giving him battle, againſt the opinion of the marquis of Newcaſtle, whoſe advice he held in too great contempt. This battle, of Marſton-moor, was extremely bloody. Cromwell, now lieutenant general, determined the victory by his ſkill and bravery. Newcaſtle, a nobleman of the moſt diſtinguiſhed merit, who had ſacrificed to the king's ſervice his taſte for tranquillity and letters, and the milder arts which flouriſh only in peace, thought he had a right to abandon a cauſe, with which the imprudence of prince Rupert had diſguſted him. He retired immediately out of the kingdom. Charles, on the other ſide, attacked the earl of Eſſex, and almoſt intirely ruined this general's army. The houſes, notwithſtanding, thanked him for his zeal. It was the policy of the parliament, to treat their friends with indulgence, and their enemies with an extreme ſeverity. By this means, they ſecured the attachment of the one, and made the others tremble. Nothing certainly contributed more to render Eſſex unſhakenly faithful to his party, whatever

Battle of Marſton-moor.

ever efforts the king made to gain him to his. Manchester and Cromwell, having brought him a reinforcement, defeated the victors at Newbury; and if Cromwell had been attended to, might have intirely crushed the royalists by a second victory.

Independents. Cromwell.

This man, whom we soon see acting the first character on this extraordinary theatre, was one of the leaders of the Independents, a fanatical sect, till this period undistinguished amongst the Presbyterians, but which soon raised itself on the ruins of the monarchy. These Independents, enthusiasts by system, infatuated with a chimera of perfection, fancying themselves under the influence of a supernatural inspiration, friends to toleration notwithstanding their enthusiasm, allowed neither ceremonies, bishops, priests, nor any kind of minister, of the altar. They pretended that the Holy Spirit, by his familiar communications, put a perfect equality between the poor and rich, the ignorant and the learned. If the hierarchy appeared to them odious, their aversion to the royalty was not less. The Puritans meant only to restrain it, the

Independentsaimed at annihilating it; and joining the profoundeſt policy to their abſurd reveries, they executed what the others believed to be impoſſible. Cromwell had all the qualities proper for the greateſt deſigns; the enthuſiaſtic fire of a ſectary, the audacity of a head of a party, the diſſimulation of a hypocrite, the talents of a general, the genius and ability of a ſtateſman. He declaimed againſt the lower houſe, of which he was a member; and againſt the conduct of Mancheſter, whom he accuſed of not having carried on the war with ſufficient vigor. This general, in his turn, reproached him with his ſeditious projects and diſcourſes, which tended to the ruin of the parliament. The bitterneſs of theſe diſputes inſpired the Independents with the reſolution of new modelling the army. Their maxim being, *that whoever drew the ſword againſt their king, ought to throw away the ſcabbard*, they wiſhed for deciſive actions, and officers determined to attempt every thing. Though they were the leaſt numerous, they by addreſs ſucceeded in executing their deſigns.

They

They appointed a ſolemn faſt in order to draw on themſelves the favor of heaven. Their preachers had the boldneſs to deplore the parliamentary diſſenſions; they accuſed the members of being actuated by a ſpirit of ſelf-intereſt; they complained of the treacherous procraſtination of the leaders, who, inſtead of ſpeedily finiſhing the war, ſought only to prolong it in order to enrich themſelves with the ſubſtance of the people; they prayed the Lord to raiſe up men more worthy to be the inſtruments of his providence. The next morning, the Independents talked of theſe diſcourſes in the houſe, as of the manifeſt inſpiration of the Holy Ghoſt. They inſiſted on the neceſſity of remedying theſe diſorders, exhorted the members to diveſt themſelves of all perſonal intereſt, of every lucrative employment. Cromwell remarked, "that during the progreſs of the war, there had ariſen a great number of excellent officers, capable of the higheſt commands; that the troops had occaſion to be reformed on a new plan, and that ſucceſs would depend

on the extirpation of abuſes." Theſe arts produced their effect. The commons paſſed what they called the *ſelf-denying ordinance*, by which the members of parliament, except a very ſmall number, were excluded from all military and civil employments; and the upper houſe, too weak to ſtruggle with the torrent, either from fear or policy, yielded to its force. Eſſex, Mancheſter, and ſeveral other lords, reſigned their commiſſions. Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. They had taken care to ſend Cromwell to the relief of Taunton, beſieged by the royaliſts. Fairfax deſired the parliament's permiſſion to retain him with him a few days; he at length obtained leave to employ him all the reſt of the campaign. By this means, Cromwell, notwithſtanding the capricious ordinance of which he was one of the principal authors, had the whole military power in his hands; and the general, poſſeſſed of probity without genius, was only the inſtrument of his paſſions.

A. D. 1645. Commiſſioners from the king and parliament now met at Uxbridge, in order

order to negotiate. Charles had at length given to the two houſes at Weſtminſter the title of "The parliament of England." He would have ſubſcribed the conditions they propoſed, if they had not been equally ſhameful and tyrannical. They inſiſted, the ſuſpenſion of arms concluded with the Iriſh rebels ſhould be declared null; and that, after having ſubdued them, the parliament ſhould nominate the lord lieutenant, and judges, for that kingdom. They demanded, that the whole military power ſhould be veſted in the parliament for ſeven years; and that afterwards, inſtead of reverting to the king, it ſhould be regulated by a bill. They did not content themſelves with the toleration offered in reſpect to eccleſiaſtical ceremonies; but demanded that epiſcopacy ſhould be aboliſhed, and the covenant received all over the kingdom. They even inſiſted, that the great officers of the crown, and the judges, ſhould be nominated by parliament; and that the right of making peace and war ſhould never be executed without the conſent of the

Uſeleſs propoſals for a treaty.

two houſes [*d*]. Such were the pretenſions of the Preſbyterian party. They differed, as Mr. Hume obſerves, only in words, from the Independents, who required the eſtabliſhment of a pure republic. The commiſſioners ſeparated, after twenty days of ineffectual conferences.

Fanaticiſm of the parliamentarians.

Religious prejudice was always the great ſpring which actuated theſe bigots. To ſee them, to hear them, you would have taken them for ſo many ſaints. They ſpoke no language but that of Scripture; they affected a rigid ſeverity of manners, which common minds confound with ſublime virtue. The Book of Sports, publiſhed by king James, had been publicly burnt. Laud had, at length, been ſacrificed to the pious vengeance of his enemies. The commons had cauſed to periſh on a ſcaffold, as guilty of treaſon, this ancient and venerable primate, as innocent as Strafford of the crime alledged againſt him; and on whom they could charge no-

Land executed.

[*d*] They alſo inſiſted, that the king ſhould puniſh, by attainders, fines, &c. thoſe who had moſt faithfully adhered to the royal cauſe.

thing

thing but an exceſs of zeal for the liturgy, and for received opinions, of which he was not the inventor. His inflexibility had, in ſome degree, occaſioned the misfortunes of the kingdom; but that was as much the fault of the ſectaries as of the prelate. If he was criminal in oppoſing violence to their prejudices, they were ſtill more ſo in breaking, under this pretence, all the ties of legal dependence and ſubordination [*e*]. The rage of fanaticiſm, inflamed by ambition, mocks at the voice of nature and the laws. The power of Charles received ſoon after the laſt blows.

[*e*] Laud, who had behaved during his trial with great ſpirit and vigor of genius, ſunk not under the horrors of his execution; but, though he uſually profeſſed himſelf apprehenſive of a violent death, he found all his fears vaniſh before that ſuperior courage, by which he was animated. "No one," ſaid he, "can be more willing to ſend me out of life, than I am deſirous to go."—Sincere he undoubtedly was, and, however miſguided, actuated by religious motives in all his purſuits; and it is to be regretted, that a man of ſuch ſpirit, who conducted his enterprizes with ſo much warmth and induſtry, had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favorable to the general happineſs of ſociety. HUME.

Fairfax

Difference of the two armies.

Fairfax and Cromwell reformed their army on the model which had been agreed upon. Such officers were choſen, as the Independents would have wiſhed. A rigid diſcipline augmented the religious ardor of the ſoldiers. Excited by the examples and exhortations of their officers, who aſſumed the miniſterial functions, they paſſed in prayers, in religious conferences, in ſpiritual lectures, all the time which they could give to amuſement and repoſe. The ardor of their imaginations raiſed them above humanity. Danger, death itſelf, was nothing to men carried out of themſelves by fanaticiſm; or rather, it was regarded by them as the road to that celeſtial happineſs to which they aſpired. In the royal army, on the contrary, reigned diſorder and licentiouſneſs. The ſoldiers, ill paid, exerciſed every ſpecies of rapine with impunity; the officers ridiculed the enthuſiaſm of the parliamentarians, without reflecting on the effects it muſt neceſſarily produce. This contraſt preſaged the greateſt misfortunes.

Battle of Naſeby.

The battle of Naſeby, near Oxford, was deciſive on the ſide of the rebels.

Prince

Prince Rupert, whoſe boiling courage was incapable of being moderated, perſuaded the king and council to hazard an action, inſtead of waiting for that reinforcement which might have aſſured them ſucceſs. He broke the left wing of the enemy. Whilſt he purſued them with a blind impetuoſity, Fairfax forced the main body, commanded by the king himſelf. This prince's valor and military ſkill were ineffectual. He loſt all his infantry, his artillery, his jewels and other effects, and his cabinet. They found in this cabinet copies of his letters to the queen when in France. The parliamentarians were not aſhamed to publiſh them, and to take advantage againſt him of his confidence in a beloved wife [*f*]. The commons,

[*f*] The Athenians, having intercepted a letter wrote by their enemy, Philip of Macedon, to his wife, Olympia; ſo far from being moved by a curioſity of prying into the ſecrets of that relation, immediately ſent the letter to the queen unopened. HUME.

The tranſlator is of different ſentiments from our celebrated female hiſtorian, in reſpect to Charles's tenderneſs for his queen: ſhe is not of opinion, that his character is leſs eſtimable for his conſtant attachment to a wife, whoſe beauty,

in

in 1644, had accuſed the queen of treaſon, for having brought aſſiſtance to her huſband from Holland. So much paſſion would have diſhonored the beſt cauſe.

A. D. 1646. The king's affairs grow worſe.

After the battle of Naſeby, the king's affairs rapidly declined. All gave way before the victors. Prince Rupert himſelf contradicted his character of bravery, and in the moſt cowardly manner ſurrendered Briſtol. Charles, juſtly enraged, diſmiſſed him his ſervice. In Scotland, Montroſe,

ſenſe, and ſpirit, deſerved all his affection. Sir Simon D'Ewes, though in the parliament party, ſpeaks of her in the following terms, in a manuſcript work, quoted by Hearne: "On Thurſday the 30th and laſt day of this inſtant June, 1625, I went to Whitehall, purpoſely to ſee the queen, which I did fully all the time ſhe ſat at dinner. I perceived her to be a moſt abſolute delicate lady, after I had exactly ſurveyed all the features of her face, much enlivened by her radiant and ſparkling black eyes. Beſides, her deportment amongſt her women was ſo ſweet and humble, and her ſpeech and looks to her other ſervants ſo mild and gracious, as I could not abſtain from divers deep-fetched ſighs, to conſider that ſhe wanted the knowledge of the true religion." The pictures remaining of her are not only exquiſitely beautiful, but convey ſtrongly the idea of that mild dignity of mind ſo becoming her ſex and ſtation.

who,

who, by his courage and conduct, almoſt without troops, had gained ſeveral aſtoniſhing victories, was unhappily defeated, and, with his principal officers, executed. Charles, in the midſt of his misfortunes, preſerved all the firmneſs of his ſoul. He wrote, in a letter to lord Digby, "that he was determined, if he could not live as a king, to die like a gentleman; nor ſhould any of his friends, he ſaid, ever have reaſon to bluſh for the prince, whom they had ſo unfortunately ſerved." In vain did he endeavor to engage the commons to agree on reaſonable terms of accommodation. Their inflexibility increaſed after victory. A new event inflamed them to the utmoſt fury. The king, wiſhing for peace with the Iriſh rebels, that he might draw ſome aſſiſtance from them, had deſired the earl of Glamorgan, a zealous papiſt, though a good ſubject, to haſten the negotiation begun by the marquis of Ormond. The earl, naturally imprudent, without acting in concert with the marquis, promiſed, in the king's name, that the Iriſh ſhould keep all the churches of which they had poſſeſſed themſelves,

on

on condition they ſent into England a body of ten thouſand men for his ſervice. At the firſt report of a treaty ſo calculated to revive the cry of popery, Ormond cauſed Glamorgan to be arreſted, and Charles diſavowed this raſh negotiator. But the commons were not the leſs perſuaded, that the king wiſhed to reſtore a religion which they regarded as an abomination.

The parliament changes the eccleſiaſtical government.

The parliament, when they aboliſhed prelacy, had not regulated eccleſiaſtical affairs. They at length finiſhed this great work, and eſtabliſhed Preſbyterian government, with its congregations and aſſemblies. The elders of every parish, joined to the miniſters, preſided in all ſpiritual affairs. The aſſembly of divines now voted Preſbyterianiſm of divine right; an eaſy and admirable method of conſecrating human inventions. The parliament rejected their deciſion, apprehending there would reſult from it an authority equal to what the biſhops had heretofore enjoyed. As the power of the keys, or of fulminating cenſures, appeared a dangerous weapon, they took care to fix the caſes in which

which excommunication was legal, and granted the right of appeal from all the eccleſiaſtical courts. Several of the members were for tolerating, without exception, all Proteſtant ſects. Nothing was more contrary to the Preſbyterian ſyſtem. Their fiery zeal was excited againſt this enormity. They exclaimed, "That this indulgence made the church of Chriſt reſemble Noah's ark, and rendered it a receptacle for all unclean beaſts." They maintained the eternal obligation of their covenant to extirpate hereſy and ſchiſm; and that no political conſideration ought to counterbalance this duty. These diſputes grew warm, and the ſpirit of diviſion roſe high. The king might perhaps have found this conjuncture favorable to his cauſe, if hatred to his perſon had not united thoſe whom opinion divided.

The king throws himſelf into the hands of the Scots.

As Fairfax was preparing to beſiege Oxford, the fear of being led in triumph by the rebels, inſpired him with a deſign which ſeemed to him the only reſource which deſpair had left him. Flattering himſelf that the Scots had not loſt all attachment to their ſovereign, and that, as zealous Puritans, they

they might willingly break with the Independents, he determined to ſeek an aſylum in the arms of this his native kingdom. He privately left Oxford, marched in diſguiſe almoſt to London [g], and arrived at the Scots army, which was then engaged in the ſiege of Newark. Their ſurprize at ſeeing him was extreme. They affected to give him the honors due to his rank, only to reduce him to ſlavery. They demanded, that he ſhould ſend orders to all his governors to ſurrender the places in their hands; he ſubmitted to this demand. Newark, Oxford, Dublin, and other cities were given up to the parliament. The Puritan miniſters overwhelmed him with ſermons and remonſtrances. One of them, after bitter reproaches on his conduct, ordered this Pſalm to be ſung,

"Why doſt thou, tyrant, boaſt thyſelf
Thy wicked deeds to praiſe?"

The king only ſtood up, and called for the following:

"Have mercy on me, Lord, I pray,
For men would me devour [b]."

[g] He came as near as Harrow on the hill.
[b] The good-natured audience, in pity to

It

It was now time the Scots ſhould determine on their own conduct, and the fate of their king. The parliament demanded, he ſhould be delivered into their hands; the Scots wiſhed to retain him, as ſecurity for the ſums due to them. They amounted, according to their calculation, to two millions ſterling. Four hundred thouſand pounds offered by the Engliſh, the moiety payable on the ſpot, terminated the diſpute. At this price the Scots commiſſioners concluded the ſhameful treaty with which their nation will ever be reproached. If they had not promiſed to ſacrifice their monarch, would the Engliſh have ſacrificed to them ſo great a ſum? It is true, that the parliament of Scotland appeared at firſt to intereſt themſelves in his favor; but the general aſſembly pronounced, "that a prince who refuſed to take the covenant, ought not to be admitted into the kingdom;" and fanaticiſm was the cauſe of the execution of the treaty. Charles was

The Scots ſell the king.

fallen majeſty, ſhewed for once greater deference to the king than to the miniſter, and ſung the Pſalm which the former had called for.

playing

playing at chefs, when he was informed, by a letter, of their intended diſpoſal of his perſon. He continued the game, without ſhewing the leaſt emotion. Delivered into the hands of the parliamentarians, he had occaſion for all his conſtancy to ſupport their unworthy treatment of him. They diſmiſſed all his ancient ſervants, and even refuſed him the attendance of his chaplain: they wanted him to renounce, not only his rights, but his very principles of religion.

A. D. 1647. Mutiny of the army.

The tyranny of the parliament was, at length, deſtroyed by another ſpecies of tyranny. The commons were deſirous to diſband a part of the troops, in order to weaken the Independents, who had almoſt rendered themſelves maſters of the ſtate. The latter, determined to execute their plan of a republic, took care not to loſe their advantages. The army mutinied; and preſented a petition to the general, for their pay, and the arrears due to them. This petition was a crime in the eyes of the commons. Their menaces provoked the army. Inſolent com-

plaints, and ſeditious cries, preſaged what they were capable of performing. They ſent Cromwell, his ſon-in-law, Ireton, and ſome others, with commiſſion to remedy the diſorders, of which they were themſelves the ſecret authors. The artful Cromwell, under the maſk of zeal for the parliament, concerted the deſign of depriving it of all its authority. A military parliament was ſoon appointed, much more formidable than that at Weſtminſter. The principal officers compoſed the upper houſe. Two inferior officers, or two ſoldiers from each company, under the title of *agitators*, repreſented the lower. Whilſt the parliament was preparing to diſperſe this plot by ſome vigorous blow, the army ſtruck one which decided the quarrel. One of the agitators, named Joyce, at the head of five hundred horſe, came to Holmby, where the king was, paſſed into his apartment, and told him, he muſt follow him directly. Charles aſked him, *By what warrant?* Joyce pointed to the ſoldiers, whom he brought with him, tall, handſome, and well accoutred.

Your

Your warrant, ſaid Charles, ſmiling, *is wrote in fair characters, legible without ſpelling*. The guard made no reſiſtance. The parliamentary commiſſioners ſaw their prey ſnatched from their hands; and the army, in poſſeſſion of ſo precious a depoſite, felt that it might now give law to the two houſes. This was Cromwell's deſign. All was done by his dextrous inſinuations, all tended to the advancement of his fortune, without his appearing himſelf to think of what was tranſacting. Fairfax had been the dupe of his intrigues, too artleſs to unravel the clue, and too honeſt a man to ſuſpect all the frauds of hypocriſy.

The two houſes were no longer, in the public opinion, the defenders of the laws, and the reſtorers of liberty. They exerciſed a power more arbitrary than that which they had made the pretext of their attempts againſt the crown. The *exciſe*, a tax which they extended to proviſions and all the neceſſaries of life, with ſeveral other impoſts, diſguſted a people not accuſtomed to this burthen. Immenſe ſums, which an exaggerated calculation made amount to more than forty

forty millions [i], raiſed in five years, gave ample cauſe for murmurs, when compared to the trifling ſubſidies paid before. The committee, entruſted with this money, was ſubject to no controul. The epiſcopal clergy, ſinking under the weight of a cruel perſecution, without any other crime than that of adhering to the principles of the national church, were become objects rather of pity than of hatred. Inſtead of the high commiſſion court and ſtar-chamber, ſo vigorouſly and ſo juſtly aboliſhed, they ſaw every where tribunals whoſe ſentences did not appear leſs odious. In ſhort, the nation groaned under parliamentary deſpotiſm, when Cromwell cauſed the army to march towards London. The parliament now yielded to ſuperior force. They repealed their decrees againſt the authors of the military petition, and changed their haughtineſs into the moſt abject complaiſance. But as the play of the paſſions is always the ſame, the army affected deſpotiſm in its turn. The more was

[i] The former princes, with difficulty, drew from their ſubjects about £. 100,000 a year.

granted, the more they aſked. They accuſed of high treaſon eleven members of parliament, the leaders of the Preſbyterian party; and inſiſted on their being ſent to the Tower. The commons replied, "that they could not legally arreſt them on a general accuſation:" the army reminded them, "that they had thought it ſufficient in the caſes of Laud and Strafford." In this manner the different parties, one after the other, uſurped the public authority; and allowed themſelves, when the power was in their hands, to commit the very exceſſes which they condemned in their adverſaries. What had ſo many violent attempts to overturn the royal prerogative produced? Inſtead of a moderate maſter, England had given itſelf a multiplicity of tyrants.

The army enſlaves the parliament.

In order to ſatisfy Cromwell's ambition, and ſubject the parliament to their commands, it was neceſſary the army ſhould, under ſome plauſible pretext, enter London. An opportunity preſented itſelf. The commons had, though with great reluctance, agreed, that the London militia ſhould be changed. At this

news, the populace roſe, and a troop of mutineers ſurrounded the houſe of commons, and compelled them to revoke their orders. The two ſpeakers [k], followed by ſeveral other members, either intimidated by the violence of the people, or to pay their court to Cromwell, whoſe dominion they foreſaw, ſecretly retired, and carried their complaints to the army, imploring its aſſiſtance. The leaders could not have wiſhed a more favorable event. They exclaimed againſt the inſolence of the ſeditious, and talked of nothing but revenging the parliament. The army was ſoon at the gates; they entered without meeting with the leaſt reſiſtance; they decided arbitrarily on every thing, accuſed ſome, drove away others, put the militia into the hands of the Independents, and reduced the parliament to a ſtate of perfect ſervitude.

Since Charles had been delivered from the power of the parliament, his captivity had been leſs inſupportable. They permitted him to ſee his family [l] and his friends. Cromwell

The king eſcapes to the Iſle of Wight.

[k] Mancheſter and Lenthall.

[l] Cromwell, who was witneſs to the meet-

even treated him as a king; and this prince hoped to gain him by titles and promiſes. Perhaps he would in time have ſucceeded, if particular conjunctures had not excited the uſurper to overleap all bounds. The Independents, having now nothing to fear, maſters of the parliament and of London, proceeded in a more daring manner, in their deſign of annihilating the royalty. Charles began to experience from them a more rigorous treatment. He heard continual menaces, and was even informed of projects of aſſaſſination againſt him. Cromwell perhaps ſought to fill him with diſtruſt, and to awaken his fears, in order to make him fall into a new ſnare. The king, by eſcaping, threw himſelf to a greater diſtance from his partizans, and loſt all the reſources which remained to him. He took refuge in the Iſle of Wight, of which Hammond, a creature of Cromwell, was governor.

ing of the royal family, confeſſed, that he had never been preſent at ſo tender a ſcene. And he extremely applauded the benignity, which diſplayed itſelf in the whole diſpoſition and behaviour of Charles. HUME.

Hammond

Hammond retained him priſoner: his head was there in continual danger.

A faction was now formed amongſt the troops, which would have ſuſpended the blow, if Cromwell had poſſeſſed leſs talents. The name of *Levellers*, which was given to this party, expreſſed the ſyſtem of thoſe who compoſed it. Their plan was, to reduce all mankind to a level, to ſuffer neither king nor nobles, and to eſtabliſh an equality of property and power throughout the kingdom. The reveries of the Myſtics were the foundation of their chimeras; chimeras worthy of that age of fanaticiſm, when the moſt palpable abſurdities were intermixed with a miſtaken ſpirit of religion. "An intire parity," they ſaid, "had place amongſt the elect; the apoſtles had been taken from amongſt the dregs of the people: and why ſhould not a private ſoldier, if enlightened by the Spirit, be intitled to the ſame reſpect as the greateſt commander? why ſhould they leave to the officers ſo many privileges and advantages contrary to Chriſtian equality?" Theſe diſcourſes were repeated with heat. Several regiments entered

into aſſociations to ſupport theſe pretenſions. But the genius of Cromwell was fruitful in expedients equally prompt and efficacious. He poſſeſſed the art of employing terror as well as fraud. At a review of the army, he ſeized the ringleaders of the mutineers, ſhot one on the ſpot, and the reſt returned to their duty.

The king ill-treated.

From this time, a reſolution was taken to get rid of the king by ſome daring and unheard-of blow, to which they would endeavor to give the appearance of juſtice. Charles offered to cede to the parliament the whole military power, and the nomination to the great offices of ſtate; provided that, after his death, theſe rights ſhould revert to the crown. They rejected this offer with arrogance. They ſent him four preliminary articles to ſubſcribe, the moſt humiliating and unreaſonable that can be imagined [*m*]. He deſired to treat

[*m*] By one, he was required to inveſt the parliament with the military power for twenty years, together with an authority to levy whatever money ſhould be neceſſary for exerciſing it: and even after the twenty years ſhould be elapſed, they reſerved a right of re-aſſuming the

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in perſon with the two houſes, before he made conceſſions, which, without that, could not ſecure peace. This was enough to inflame the fury of the republicans. They exclaimed, that the king, by denying the four bills, had refuſed ſafety and protection to his people; that their obedience was but a reciprocal duty for his protection of them; and that, as he had failed on his part, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and muſt proceed to ſettle the nation without him. Cromwell inſiſted on theſe ſeditious maxims in the lower houſe. He gave them to underſtand, that

ſame authority, whenever they ſhould declare the ſafety of the kingdom to require it. By the ſecond, he muſt recall all his proclamations and declarations againſt the parliament, and acknowledge that aſſembly to have taken arms for their juſt and neceſſary defence. By the third, he was to annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had paſſed the great ſeal, ſince it had been carried from London by lord-keeper Littleton. By the fourth, he gave the two houſes power to adjourn as they thought fit: a demand ſeemingly of no great conſequence; but contrived by the Independents, that they might be able to remove the parliament to places where it ſhould remain in perpetual ſubjection to the army. HUME.

England no longer depended on aught but the wiſdom of parliament, who, in their turn, might depend on the zeal and aſſiſtance of the army. Till this time, the rank of king had appeared reſpectable: it now drew on Charles only inſults and contempt. The parliament voted, "that no more addreſſes ſhould be made to the king, nor any letters or meſſages be received from him, and that it ſhould be treaſon for any one, without leave of the two houſes, to have any intercourſe with him." To this ordinance, which totally annihilated the royalty, they joined the blackeſt calumnies, even to the accuſing him of having poiſoned his father, and contrived the Iriſh maſſacre. Charles, calm and unſhaken in his priſon, oppoſed the moſt heroic conſtancy to this torrent of misfortunes. His religious ſentiments ſupported him againſt the aſſaults of cruelty and fanaticiſm.

A. D. 1648. Second civil war.

A conſiderable party, however, ſuddenly appeared in his defence. The Scots thought themſelves obliged by the covenant (for other obligations were effaced), to maintain the royal dignity as well as the Preſbyterian

byterian religion. Their parliament levied an army of forty thouſand men. The tyranny of the army was become ſo odious, even to the Engliſh, that the friends of Charles, in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, took arms. Seventeen ſhips of war declared for him. A new civil war was kindled. Whilſt Cromwell and the other leaders applied themſelves to diſperſe this ſtorm, the parliament, who now reſumed ſome degree of liberty, repealed the laſt ordinance, and ſent fifteen commiſſioners to treat with the king. This change might have been productive of great good, if the deſire of peace had been accompanied by thoſe ſentiments of moderation which alone could accelerate it. The commiſſioners found Charles in a ſtate calculated to touch their hearts; almoſt without attendants, his beard long, his hair neglected, and grown white with ſorrow. But his mind had loſt nothing of its penetration or vigor. Alone and unaſſiſted, he diſcuſſed with them, in a long ſeries of conferences, points the moſt delicate, with a ſuperiority of reaſoning

Negotiation with the king.

ing which aſtoniſhed them [*n*]. Neceſſity compelled him to very hard conditions. He conſented to acknowledge the parliament had taken arms in their own defence; to cede to them for twenty years the military power, with the right of raiſing money to pay the troops, and of reſuming theſe powers whenever the two houſes ſhould declare it neceſſary; and to leave to them the nomination to the great offices, and the government of Ireland; and to make the nation pay the debts contracted in ſupporting the war againſt him: Conceſſions ſo ſtrange, that the king ſaid, not without reaſon, "that he had been more an enemy to his people by making them, could he have prevented it, than by any other action of his life."

He refuſed his conſent to two articles only, one which demanded the puniſhment of his friends, the other which inſiſted on the abolition of epiſcopacy. Pierced with regret for having ſa-

[*n*] *The king is much changed*, ſaid the earl of Saliſbury to Sir Philip Warwick; *he is extremely improved of late. No*, replied Sir Philip, *he was always ſo; but you are now, at laſt, ſenſible of it.*

crificed

crificed Strafford, he could only be brought, and that with difficulty, to agree, that the royaliſts ſhould pay the compoſitions with which their eſtates were charged by the parliament, and that ſeven [o] of the principal ſhould be baniſhed for a limited time. In reſpect to religion, as inflexible in his principles as the commons were in their Preſbyterian ſyſtem, he gave up all which did not appear to him of apoſtolical inſtitution, provided epiſcopacy was preſerved; leaving to the biſhops no other power than that of ordination.

Such is the madneſs of religious enthuſiaſts! Their own intereſt, that of the public, are nothing in the balance with their peculiarities of opinion. However advantageous this treaty was to the parliament, whatever motives they had to conclude it without delay; the negotiators were moſt obſtinate on thoſe articles in which there ſeemed the leaſt

[o] The marquis of Newcaſtle, lord Digby, lord Biron, Sir Marmaduke Langdale, Sir Richard Glanville, Sir Francis Dodington, and judge Jenkins.

difficulty. The narrow ſpirit of a ſect is too evident, in the following declaration of parliament: "The two houſes, out of their deteſtation to that abominable idolatry uſed in the maſs, do declare, that they cannot admit of, or conſent to, any ſuch indulgence in any law, as is deſired by his majeſty, for exempting the queen and her family from the penalties to be enacted againſt the exerciſe of the maſs." A blind infatuation ſhut up the road to a reconciliation. They loſt time in diſputes, whilſt the army acted with vigor. It ſoon diſperſed the royaliſts, whoſe different bodies were not united. Cromwell penetrated into Scotland, where nothing could reſiſt him. Fairfax took Colcheſter, after a memorable ſiege. Ireton, the moſt cruel of the fanatics, engaged this general, naturally humane, to execute ſeveral officers of the garriſon by martial law. Sir Charles Lucas was firſt ſhot, and gave orders himſelf to the ſoldiers to fire. Sir George Liſle, his friend, ran inſtantly, and kiſſed the dead body; and then chearfully preſented himſelf to

Executions.

to the executioners. The ſoldiers appearing to him to be at too great a diſtance, he called to them to come nearer: one of them replied, *I'll warrant you, Sir, we'll hit you:* he anſwered, ſmiling, *Friends, I have been nearer you when you have miſſed me.* A death ſo glorious was preferable to the triumph of the rebels.

Their firſt care, after having conquered all obſtacles, was to ſeize the king's perſon, and transfer it to a ſtricter confinement. Charles could have prevented this blow by flight. But, having promiſed the parliament not to attempt to eſcape during the treaty, he ſcrupled to violate this promiſe, from which his preſent circumſtances ſeemed to abſolve him. He was reſolved, rather to die the victim of his good faith, and the tyranny of his enemies. The parliament had at firſt the courage to reſiſt them; and declared, that the king's conceſſions were a ſufficient foundation for a national treaty. But colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, ſurrounded the houſe of commons, and ſeized forty-one of the Preſbyterian members: an hundred and ſixty other ſuſpected members

members were excluded, and there remained only the moſt furious of the Independents. This phantom of a parliament executed the incredible project of bringing their ſovereign to a public trial.

A. D. 1648. Trial of the king.

On the report of the commiſſioners appointed to prepare articles of accuſation, the lower houſe paſſed a vote, declaring him guilty of high treaſon in having made war on the parliament, and formed a court of juſtice to whom they gave power to try him. The peers [p] rejected this vote with proper indignation. In conſequence of the newly-received principle, *That the people are the origin of all juſt power*, they declared, *That the commons of England, aſſembled in parliament, being choſen by the people, and repreſenting them, have the ſupreme authority of the nation; and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons, hath the force of law, without the conſent of king, or houſe of peers.* Thus the Engliſh conſtitution, under the pretext of inſurrections and civil war, was

[p] Not more than fifty or ſixty in the whole.

totally

totally ſubverted by thoſe who pretended to maintain it. The hypocritical Cromwell ſupported theſe unheard-of uſurpations by playing the part of one inſpired. "Even I myſelf," ſaid he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his majeſty's reſtoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; and conſidered this ſupernatural movement as the anſwer which Heaven, having rejected the king, had ſent to my ſupplications." Charles, conducted to London by colonel Harriſon, the ſon of a butcher, and worthy of his birth, appeared before his judges, Ireton, Cromwell, Harriſon, &c. a band of villains, whoſe memory will be for ever held in execration. The ſolicitor general, in the name of the commons, repreſented, "That Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and *entruſted* with a limited power; yet, nevertheleſs, out of a wicked deſign to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traiterouſly and maliciouſly levied war againſt the preſent parliament, and the people, whom they repreſented; and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer,

derer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth." On which, the preſident of the aſſembly ſummoned the king to reply.

The king's anſwer.

Charles, with a dignity and courage which all his misfortunes had not been able to deſtroy, replied, "That he acknowledged neither the authority nor the juriſdiction of that tribunal; that he was their *native hereditary king*; nor was the whole authority of the ſtate, though free and united, entitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the ſupreme Majeſty of Heaven; that, having often expoſed his life in defence of public liberty, of the conſtitution, and fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this laſt and moſt ſolemn ſcene, to ſeal with his blood thoſe precious rights; that thoſe who arrogated a title to ſit as his judges, were born his ſubjects, and born ſubjects to thoſe laws, which determined, *That the king can do no wrong*; but that, without having recourſe to that general maxim, he was able, by the moſt ſatisfactory reaſons, to juſtify his meaſures; and that, if called upon in another manner, he was deſirous to prove to them,

and

and to the whole world, the juſtice of that war, in which ſelf-defence had unfortunately and unwillingly engaged him."

This reply would have confounded men leſs obſtinate in their crimes. The new court did not relax in the purſuit. Charles having been three times produced in court, and having three times declined their juriſdiction, the judges, after having heard ſome witneſſes, who depoſed that the king had appeared in arms againſt the parliament, pronounced ſentence againſt him. France, Holland, Scotland, interpoſed, but in vain, to ſtop this horrible proceeding. Four illuſtrious friends of the king, Richmond, Hertford, Southampton, and Lindſey, repreſented to the commons, "that, as his counſellors, they alone were guilty of thoſe meaſures now imputed to him as crimes; and that they now preſented themſelves, in order to ſave, by their own puniſhment, that precious life, which it became the commons themſelves, and every ſubject, with the utmoſt hazard, to protect and defend." This generous effort, perhaps, inflamed the fury of the regicides; The king condemned.

cides; for the more the wicked ſee themſelves condemned by the ſuperior virtue of good men, the greater is their eagerneſs to reap the fruit of their attempts.

A. D. 1649. The king executed.

During the interval of three days which preceded his execution, he employed himſelf in reading and meditating on thoſe eternal truths which raiſe the ſoul above the evils of life. The prince of Wales, and the duke of York, his two eldeſt ſons, had made their eſcape. His youngeſt ſon, the duke of Gloceſter [r], only eight years of age, having been brought to him, "My child," ſaid he, "they will cut off thy father's head, and perhaps make thee a king. But mark what I ſay: thou muſt not be a king, as long as thy brothers, Charles and James,

[r] His daughter, the princeſs Elizabeth, was alſo ſuffered to ſee him. After many pious conſolations and advices, he gave her in charge to tell the queen, that during the whole courſe of his life, he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her, and that his conjugal tenderneſs, and his life, ſhould have an equal duration. This princeſs, notwithſtanding her tender years, ſhewed a very advanced judgement; and the calamities of her family had made a deep impreſſion on her mind.

are

are alive. They will cut off thy brothers' heads, when they can catch them; and thy head too they will cut off at laſt: and therefore, I charge thee, do not be made a king by them." The young prince, ſighing, replied, "I will be torn in pieces firſt." The ſcaffold had been prepared before the palace of Whitehall, the reſidence of the kings of England. Charles mounted it without the leaſt ſign of weakneſs. He harangued the people aſſembled, proteſted his innocence, but acknowledged the equity of his death in the eyes of the Supreme Being; and obſerved, that he was juſtly puniſhed for not having oppoſed an unjuſt ſentence (that of Strafford). He generouſly forgave his enemies; exhorting them, and the nation, to yield obedience to his lawful ſucceſſor. His head was ſevered from his body at one ſtroke.

Fairfax had abſented himſelf during the trial. He endeavored by his intereſt to prevent the execution of the ſentence, and reſolved to attempt ſaving the king by force, even with his own regiment only. Cromwell and Ireton perſuaded the credulous general

general to have recourſe to prayer in a moment when there was, they ſaid, ſo much occaſion for ſupernatural lights. The fanatic Harriſon was appointed to join with him in ſeeking the Lord. He took care to prolong their prayers till a meſſenger came to inform them of the king's death: then, riſing from his knees, with the myſterious air of a prophet, aſſured Fairfax, that the Lord had heard their vows, and miraculouſly ſignified his will. The nation, too long the dupe of theſe hypocrites, was now recovered from its deluſion. The national affliction for having loſt this good prince, equalled the blind hatred before entertained againſt him. His character merited the eſteem and love of his ſubjects. Few kings have had more virtues, or ſo few vices. In a leſs ſtormy age, he would have reigned in tranquillity, with the glory of doing good, without inſpiring diſtruſt. But he wanted that political wiſdom which knows how to accommodate itſelf to conjunctures; and too eaſily followed the counſels of thoſe whoſe judgement was greatly inferior to his own. To give a clearer idea of his underſtanding

ing and ſentiments, we ſhall tranſcribe ſome detached parts of a letter, in which he gives an account to the prince of Wales of his laſt negotiations with the parliament: "By what hath been ſaid, you ſee how long I have labored in the ſearch of peace: do not you be diſheartened to tread in the ſame ſteps. Uſe all worthy means to reſtore yourſelf to your rights; but prefer the way of peace. Shew the greatneſs of your mind, rather to conquer your enemies by pardoning, than by puniſhing. Give belief to my experience, never to affect more greatneſs or prerogative, than what is really and intrinſically for the good of the ſubjects, not the ſatisfaction of favorites. If you thus uſe it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any, whom you incline to be extraordinarily gracious to. Theſe conſiderations may make you as great a prince, as your father is a low one; and your ſtate may be ſo much the more eſtabliſhed as mine hath been ſhaken. For our ſubjects have learned, I dare ſay, that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themſelves;

ſelves; and ſo, will more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter. The Engliſh nation are a ſober people, however, at preſent, infatuated. To conclude, if God give you ſucceſs, uſe it humbly, and be ever far from revenge. If he reſtore you to your right on hard conditions, whatever you promiſe, keep. Thoſe men, who have violated laws, which they were bound to preſerve, will find their triumphs full of trouble. But do not you think any thing in the world worth attaining by foul and unjuſt means [s]."

[s] This prince was of a comely preſence; of a ſweet, but melancholy aſpect. His face was regular, handſome, and well-complexioned; his body ſtrong, healthy, and juſtly proportioned; and being of a middle ſtature, he was capable of enduring the greateſt fatigues. He excelled in horſemanſhip and other exerciſes; and he poſſeſſed all the exterior, as well as many of the eſſential, qualities, which form an accompliſhed prince.

Had he been born an abſolute prince, his humanity and good ſenſe had rendered his reign happy, and his memory precious; had the limitations on prerogative been, in his time, quite fixed and certain, his integrity had made him regard as ſacred, the bounds of the conſtitution. Unhappily, his fate threw him into a period, when the precedents of many former reigns

Charles

Charles the firſt loved painting, and the fine arts. His œconomy and narrow revenue did not prevent his living with magnificence. He had twenty-four royal houſes, all ſufficiently well furniſhed to enable him to paſs from one to the other, without having occaſion to remove the leaſt article. Though he loved works of genius, and underſtood them, yet he is reproached with having failed in generoſity towards Ben Jonſon, a famous dramatic poet, who, in an infirm and indigent old age, having applied to him for aſſiſtance, received only a very trifling ſum. *I am very ſtraitly lodged*, ſaid the diſcontented poet; *but I ſee by the extent of this favor that the ſoul of his majeſty is not lodged more at large.*

favored ſtrongly of arbitrary power, and the genius of the people ran violently towards liberty.

The king left ſix children; three males, Charles, born in 1630, James, duke of York, born in 1633, Henry, duke of Gloceſter, born in 1641; and three females, Mary, princeſs of Orange, born 1631, Elizabeth, born 1635, and Henrietta, afterwards dutcheſs of Orleans, born at Exeter, 1644. HUME.

The

The COMMONWEALTH.

A. D. 1649. The monarchy aboliſhed.

NEVER had any conſpiracy been conducted with more ability and vigor than that of the Independents, to found a republic on the ruins of the throne of England. After the death of Charles the firſt, they haſtened to put the laſt hand to their work. The lower houſe, reduced to about eighty members, from five hundred and thirteen, of which it was at firſt compoſed, paſſed a vote, declaring the houſe of peers uſeleſs and dangerous, and therefore to be aboliſhed: they paſſed a like vote in reſpect to the monarchy. *If we deſired a king*, ſaid one of the republicans [*t*], *the laſt was as proper as any gentleman in England.* His ſtatue [*u*] was, notwithſtanding, thrown down; and the following inſcription put on the pedeſtal, *The tyrant is gone, the laſt of the kings.* The commons cauſed a new great ſeal to be made, with this

[*t*] Martin.
[*u*] In the Royal Exchange.

legend,

legend, *On the first year of freedom, by God's blessing, restored*, 1648. And it was declared high treason to acknowledge for king, *Charles Stuart, commonly called, Prince of Wales*. To increase the general terror, some royalists were condemned to death [*w*].

The nation was divided into several parties, the more warmly animated against each other, as they all breathed the spirit of fanaticism. Some demanded, that all forms of human government should be abolished; that Jesus Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected, might reign alone in the world: others carried their infatuation so far as to insist, that the obligations of morality and natural law were suspended; and that the *elect*, directed by the Holy Spirit, were superior to the *beggarly elements* of justice and humanity. The Presbyterians, the Royalists, with very opposite principles, expressed the same discontent. The heir of the crown, Charles the second, though a fugitive,

[*w*] Duke Hamilton, lord Capel, and the earl of Holland, were executed. The earl of Norwich and Sir John Owen were condemned, but pardoned by the commons.

and without troops, hoped to enter into poſſeſſion of his rights. Scotland had proclaimed him; but upon condition of "his good behaviour, and ſtrict obſervance of the covenant, and his entertaining no other perſons about him but ſuch as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation." Hard conditions, but not to be rejected in his unhappy ſituation. The marquis of Ormond, lord lieutenant of Ireland, on the other ſide, was at the head of a great party, devoted to the prince; and though the Iriſh had again revolted in 1646, at the inſtigation of the pope's nuncio, they were now ſincerely united to the Royaliſts. The Independents ſaw themſelves ſurrounded with enemies; but the genius of Cromwell ſported with obſtacles and dangers.

The council of ſtate had given him the government of Ireland. Before he parted, he took care to provide for the tranquillity of England. The faction of the *Levellers* was not quite deſtroyed in the army. Four thouſand of theſe enthuſiaſts, having openly revolted, were amuſed by a treaty, till the troops had time to fall

upon them. Four hundred of them were taken, ſome of whom were executed, and this example diſperſed the reſt. Lieutenant colonel Lilburn was impriſoned. The women in a body demanded his enlargement; but were deſired to mind their houſhold affairs, and leave to men the government of the ſtate. The crime of high treaſon was extended to verbal offences, nay even to intentions, though not appearing by any act: the priſons were filled, though the power of impriſonment had before appeared ſo tyrannical: the exciſe, and other extraordinary taxes, exacted with rigor. The new republic reſembled the reign of Tiberius.

Cromwell, now arrived in Ireland, obliged Ormond to raiſe the ſiege of Dublin, carried Tredah, which was defended by a numerous garriſon, by ſtorm, and ordered a general maſſacre of the ſoldiers, one of whom only eſcaped this butchery [x]. This politic cruelty ſpread univerſal terror; every town before which he appeared now

Cromwell ſubdues Ireland.

[x] He repeated the ſame inhuman policy at Wexford.

opened its gates: the Iriſh clergy, ſeeing Ormond unfortunate, purſued him with anathemas as a Proteſtant; more than forty thouſand men entered voluntarily into foreign ſervice; and Ireland was totally reduced by Cromwell, who had ſoon an opportunity of acquiring ſtill greater glory in Scotland.

A. D. 1650. Execution of Montroſe.

The brave marquis of Montroſe was no more. After the death of Charles the firſt, having received from his ſon a commiſſion appointing him captain general in Scotland, he had landed in that kingdom, accompanied by a ſmall body of German troops [y]. Having been ſurprized and arreſted by the Scots, theſe fanatics ſaw only, in this gallant and extraordinary man, an excommunicated rebel to the covenant. He ſuffered the moſt ſhocking indignities, and was condemned to be hanged. His ſentence expreſſed, "that his head ſhould be cut off, and affixed to the priſon; his legs and arms be ſtuck up on the four chief towns of the kingdom; and his body be buried in the place appropriated for

[y] About five hundred.

common

common malefactors; except the church, upon his repentance, ſhould take off his excommunication."—"I am much prouder," ſaid he, "to have my head affixed to the place where it is ſentenced to ſtand, than to have my picture hung in the king's bed-chamber. So far from being ſorry that my legs and arms are to be ſent to four cities of the kingdom, I wiſh I had limbs enough to be diſperſed into all the cities of Chriſtendom, there to remain as teſtimonies in favor of the cauſe for which I ſuffer."—This ſentiment, that very evening, he put into verſe [z]. His death was as heroic as his life. He was ſtill in the flower of his age [a], when his king and country had the misfortune to loſe him.

This event taught Charles the ſecond how very formidable was the fanaticiſm of the Scots; and determined him, againſt the advice of many of his friends, to accept conditions, without which he had nothing to hope from

Charles the ſecond in Scotland.

[z] The Poem remains; a ſignal monument of his heroic ſpirit, and no deſpicable proof of his poetical genius. HUME.

[a] In his thirty-eighth year.

ſo infatuated and obſtinate a people. He ſet ſail for Scotland, convoyed by ſeven Dutch men of war: on landing, he was obliged to diſmiſs the greater part of his friends, to ſign the covenant, and hear the tedious ſermons of the miniſters. He even affected, in a public declaration, a zeal conformable to their bigotry. He accuſed himſelf of having followed the evil counſels of his father; he lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's houſe. He promiſed, never to love or favor any who had ſo little conſcience as to follow his intereſts, in preference to the goſpel, and the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt: profeſſed, he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant; and that he would render it triumphant over popery, ſuperſtition, prelacy, and, in one word, all profane uſages. The Puritans, governed by Argyle, were very little touched by theſe appearances, which they undoubtedly ſuſpected. The prince lived amongſt them more like a captive than a king.

Cromwell marches into Scotland.

Cromwell began his march, at the head of ſixteen thouſand men. Fairfax, ſcrupling to attack the Scots, againſt

againſt the faith of the covenant, had reſigned his command of general; and Cromwell was appointed in his place. The latter, who knew Fairfax incapable of acting againſt his conſcience, endeavored to make him change his reſolution, certain of not ſucceeding. This maſter-piece of profound policy and ambition, was praiſed as a prodigy of diſintereſtedneſs. Leſley commanded the Scots army. Charles came to the camp, and, by his vivacity and courage, gained the love of the ſoldiers. The clergy, taking umbrage at this, obliged him to return. They ſent away four thouſand men, excellent ſoldiers, but too good Royaliſts to appear to the Preſbyterians worthy to ſerve the common cauſe; they were afraid, one only of *theſe profane* might draw on the army the malediction of Heaven. Cromwell began to want proviſions; and the Scots general, by avoiding an engagement, reduced him to the laſt extremity. Unhappily, the clergy had too great an aſcendant over the troops. By declaring the Lord had heard their prayers, and that they were aſſured of victory, they conſtrained Leſley to deſcend from the

Battle of Dunbar.

heights where he was encamped, and to riſk a battle. Cromwell inſtantly attacked this army, more numerous than his own, but greatly inferior in diſcipline and experience. He put them to flight at the firſt charge, made nine thouſand priſoners, and took Edinburgh and Leith; he would have puſhed his advantages farther, if the winter, and a fever, had not hindered him.

Nothing can undeceive fanatics. When they reaſon, it is to ſtrengthen themſelves in error; and they fortify their prejudices by the very proofs which ſeem moſt likely to deſtroy them. The Preſbyterian clergy, who had propheſied they ſhould gain the battle of Dunbar, ſaw clearly in the decrees of Providence, all the reaſons why they loſt it. They related them in an abſurd work, which Cromwell himſelf refuted. He maintained, that the prayers offered up on both ſides were an appeal to the judgement of God; and that God had, at Dunbar, pronounced an irrevocable ſentence. Nothing could have been more eaſy than to find the natural cauſes of this event; but the ſpirit of enthuſiaſm always

always mixes theology with the furies of civil war. Charles, though wearied out by the miniſters, who fatigued him with continual ſermons and prayers, allowed him no pleaſures, and reprimanded him ſeverely for the leaſt faults, was however a little more at liberty ſince the Scots had abated of their confidence. They allowed him, if he choſe it, to go to the camp the next campaign. Cromwell began it with his uſual ſucceſs. The young prince, deſpairing to reſiſt him, took a bold and unforeſeen reſolution. He paſſed, with his army, into England; Cromwell not having taken the precaution to guard the roads againſt ſuch an attempt. Had the Royaliſts expected him, this was the favorable moment for a revolution. But Cromwell's activity ſoon repaired his imprudence. The militia, by his order, were aſſembled, and joined the regular troops. At the head of forty thouſand men, he attacked Worceſter, which the king occupied with his partizans. He bore down all before him, and made himſelf maſter of the place, filled with the dead and dy-

A. D. 1651. Succeſs of Cromwell. Flight of Charles.

ing[b]. Charles fled; ſeparated himſelf from his companions, and, by the earl of Derby's directions, reached a lone houſe[c], where he found the farmer and his family eager to receive him. Concealed in an oak, where he remained an intire day, he ſaw a number of ſoldiers paſs, who were in purſuit of him. To afford him an aſylum, was death; to betray him, was to gain a great reward: yet he wandered from place to place, during forty-one days, diſguiſed, in the midſt of unnumbered perils; and though not leſs than forty perſons, men, women, and even ſervants, were intruſted with the ſecret, not one failed either in diſcretion or zeal. It is during the moſt violent public convulſions, that virtue diſplays itſelf with moſt force and luſtre; as it is then alſo that fanaticiſm, and the paſſions, hurry men to inveigh with moſt bitterneſs againſt each other. The prince, at length, found

[b] Duke Hamilton was mortally wounded; Maſſey wounded and taken priſoner.

[c] Boſcobel, on the borders of Staffordſhire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer.

a veſ-

a veſſel, in which he embarked for France [*d*].

From this time the Engliſh republic, if we may give that name to the arbitrary government of theſe uſurpers, appeared ſolidly eſtabliſhed. Blake purſued, even to the mouth of the Tagus, prince Rupert, who commanded the king's fleet. The king of Portugal having refuſed him entrance into this river, he ſeized ſeveral Portugueſe [*e*] veſſels; and the court of Liſbon was obliged to make a ſubmiſſion. The American colonies, hitherto faithful to the royal cauſe, ſubmitted to ſuperior force. Ireton, Cromwell's ſucceſſor in Ireland, died there of the plague, after ſeveral vigorous expeditions; and general Ludlow finiſhed the reduction of that kingdom. Monk ſucceeded alſo in Scotland, where a total ſubjection took

Power of the republic.

[*d*] He landed at Feſchamp in Normandy, the 22d of October.

For the particulars of this extraordinary eſcape, too long to be inſerted here, the reader is referred to Clarendon, who had them from the king himſelf.

[*e*] Twenty ſhips richly laden.

place of the ancient independence [f]. So much ſucceſs inſpired the new maſters of the ſtate with the deſire of humbling their neighbours, and ſignalizing themſelves abroad. They were exaſperated againſt Holland. Doriſlaüs, their agent, had been murdered at the Hague, in 1649, by ſome royaliſts belonging to Montroſe. The States General had ſhewed very little deſire to puniſh the aſſaſſins, leaving them time to eſcape. Another envoy of the parliament [g] had lately met with many indignities, which remained unpuniſhed. At London, they wiſhed a rupture. To diſtreſs the Hollanders, whoſe country is ſteril of itſelf, and whoſe riches ariſe principally from their being the factors of other nations, they publiſhed the famous act of navigation, by which all ſtrangers

A. D. 1652. War with Holland.

Act of navigation.

[f] The counteſs of Derby defended the Iſle of Man; and with great reluctance yielded to the neceſſity of ſurrendering to the enemy. This lady, a daughter of the illuſtrious houſe of Trimoüille in France, had the glory of being the laſt perſon in the three kingdoms, and in all their dependent dominions, who ſubmitted to the victorious commonwealth. HUME.

[g] St. John.

are

are prohibited from bringing into England, any merchandize which is not the produce of their country, or has not been fabricated there. This ſtep, followed by ſome depredations on the Dutch ſhips, made the States apprehend an open war. They endeavored to prevent it by negotiation; but took the precaution to equip a fleet of an hundred and fifty ſail. The famous Tromp was commiſſioned to defend the Dutch navigation, againſt the piracies of the Engliſh privateers. He met with Blake in the road of Dover. The two fleets engaged, without its being poſſible to decide certainly which was the aggreſſor, the relations on each ſide being ſo totally different. The States in vain attempted a juſtification. The parliament refuſed to hear them, and eagerly ſeized this occaſion to declare war. Notwithſtanding the courage, the ſkill, and ſuperior force, of Tromp and de Ruyter, the Engliſh had at length unqueſtionably the advantage; which was attributed to the large ſhips, of a ſize till then uncommon, which Charles had cauſed

to

to be built. The tax of ſhip-money, therefore, that pretext for rebellion, had been a great national benefit [*b*].

Cromwell diſſolves the parliament.

If the commons felicitated themſelves on the maritime war, it was chiefly in the deſign of weakening the army, and in time bringing it to a due ſubmiſſion to parliamentary orders. Cromwell ſaw they aimed at reducing that unbounded power which he enjoyed. He felt himſelf ſtrong enough to cruſh his enemies at a blow; and, without having recourſe to the arts of hypocriſy, he determined, by his own authority, to diſſolve the parliament. In a council of officers, they drew up, conformably to his views, a moſt daring remonſtrance, in which, after having praiſed the commons for the great enterprizes they had atchieved, and the zeal they had manifeſted, they repreſented to them, "that it was time to leave to other citizens the care of the public ſervice, and to ſummon a new parliament, who might

[*b*] The ſituation into which Charles had put the fleet, undoubtedly was ſo; but this is no excuſe for his having raiſed the money in an illegal manner.

eaſe

eaſe them of the burthen they had born ſo many years." The remonſtrance having been ill received, the officers inſiſted on their advice being followed; Cromwell propoſed to them to regulate the national government themſelves. Whilſt this great affair employed them, they came to tell him, "that the parliament, far from thinking of a diſſolution, were deliberating on filling the vacant ſeats." He haſtened immediately, accompanied by a body of three hundred ſoldiers, to Weſtminſter: he entered the hall, attended a few moments to their deliberations; and then, ſuddenly ſtarting up, loaded the parliament with the ſharpeſt reproaches, for their tyranny, ambition, and rapine. The ſoldiers entered at the ſignal agreed on: then, with an audacity without example, "For ſhame," ſaid he in his groſs language, "get you gone: you are no longer a parliament: the Lord has done with you: he has choſen other inſtruments for carrying on his work." Then, taking hold of one by the cloak [*i*], "Thou art a whore-

[*i*] Martin.

maſter,"

maſter," ſaid he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard." To a fourth, "And thou an extortioner and robber."—"It is you," added he, addreſſing himſelf to the houſe, "who have forced me upon this. I have ſought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather ſlay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the ſoldiers to turn them all out, he ordered the door to be locked, and very calmly retired [k]. No action of his life paints more ſtrongly the character of Oliver Cromwell; the man in the world the moſt intrepid, and moſt daring, though the moſt artful and deſigning. Incapable of moderation, he had paſſed from the exceſs of debauchery to thoſe of enthuſiaſm, and ſtrictneſs of manners. Inveterate againſt the king during the civil war, he had frequently ſaid, "That if he met him in battle, he would fire a piſtol in his face as readily as againſt any other perſon." He had cauſed him to be

[k] "Take away that fool's bauble," ſaid he to one of the ſoldiers, meaning the mace.

beheaded

beheaded with all the formalities of juſtice. But this ſudden diſſolution of the parliament aſtoniſhed his friends more than any thing he had done. He alone was capable of conceiving and executing ſuch a deſign.

A. D. 1653. Bare-bone's parliament.

No longer doubting that Heaven had inveſted him with the rights of government, and deſiring to ſatisfy the people by the appearance of a republic, he ſummoned an hundred and twenty-eight Engliſh, ſix Iriſh, and five Scots deputies, to meet at London; and entruſted to them, for fifteen months, the legiſlative power, which they were to tranſmit to an hundred and thirty-nine other perſons, choſen by themſelves. This aſſembly, filled with fanatics, of the dregs of the people, believed themſelves a true parliament, and exerciſed all the functions of one. They began by *ſeeking God in prayer*. Some enthuſiaſts were charged with this office; and the hearers agreed, "that they had never before, in their devout tranſports, enjoyed ſo great an abundance of the Holy Spirit." What now appears the height of abſurdity, was to them holineſs itſelf. The firſt harangue which Cromwell made to them,

them, is diſtinguiſhed by the myſtic bombaſt in which he invelops his hypocriſy. "I confeſs to you," ſaid he, "that I never looked to ſee ſuch a day, when Chriſt ſhould be ſo owned as he is this day, and in this work. Jeſus Chriſt is owned this day by your call; and you own him by your willingneſs to appear for him; and you manifeſt this, as far as poor creatures can do, to be a day of the power of Chriſt, &c. &c." The acts paſſed by this houſe were worthy of the ſpirit by which they were animated. They declared learning and the univerſities heatheniſh and unneceſſary. The common law they denominated a *badge of the Norman ſlavery*; and formed a deſign of eſtabliſhing the Moſaic law as the ſole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence. They projected a general reformation, which, for want of time, went no farther, than ordaining that marriage ſhould be ſolemnized by the civil magiſtrate alone, without any intervention of the clergy.

Diſſolution of this parliament.

This parliament ſoon fell into contempt. The people gave it the burleſque name of *Barebone's* parliament, from the name aſſumed by one of the members.

members [l]. Cromwell already repented of his work. As a great part of the aſſembly were his creatures, he knew how to diſſolve it in ſuch a manner as to become himſelf ſtill more powerful. Thoſe of the members who were devoted to him, and who undoubtedly knew his intentions, reſigned to him, by an authentic act, all the authority with which they were inveſted. The reſt, a ſmall number, preparing to proteſt againſt this act, a party of ſoldiers arrived, and determined the queſtion. "What are you doing here?" ſaid colonel White. "We are ſeeking the Lord," ſaid they. "Then you may go elſewhere," replied he; "for to my certain knowledge, he has not been here theſe ſeveral years."

The military council, at length, granted to Cromwell the title of Protector, with a power little different Cromwell protector.

[l] It was uſual for the ſaints at that time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, &c. which they regarded as heatheniſh, into others more ſanctified and godly; this man, who was a leatherſeller in London, called himſelf *Praiſe-god Barebone*; which ſtriking the fancy of the people, occaſioned their giving the parliament this ridiculous title.

from

from that of the laſt kings. The adminiſtration of juſtice was to be in his name; the power of the ſword, of making peace and war, and contracting alliances, was put into his hands; he was, however, obliged to take the advice of a council, which was eſtabliſhed at the ſame time; to ſummon a parliament every three years, and to allow it to ſit five intire months, without adjournment, or prorogation. Bills were to paſs into laws by the ſole authority of the houſe, if the protector did not give his conſent in the ſpace of thirty days. An army of thirty thouſand men was to be kept on foot, and not to be diminiſhed without the protector's conſent. This dignity was for life, and the council were to name a ſucceſſor after his death. Such were the principal articles of a regulation, by which they ſuppoſed they had fixed the Engliſh conſtitution for ever. After having overturned the throne, and cemented by the blood of their monarch the foundations of the republic, they were reduced to give themſelves a king under another name, or rather, to ſerve a tyrant.

All

All the diſturbances of the ſtate, all the ravings of fanaticiſm, of which the Engliſh are at this day aſhamed, did not hinder them from purſuing, with the utmoſt vigor, the war with Holland. Theſe two nations, ſo long friends, and ſo much intereſted to continue always ſo, contended, in a ſeries of the moſt bloody naval engagements, for the frivolous [*m*] honor of the flag, without any reaſonable motive of animoſity. The Engliſh admirals, Monk and Dean, defeated on the coaſt of Flanders a fleet of an hundred ſail, commanded by the brave Tromp. Dean loſt his life in this action. A little time after, Tromp gave battle a ſecond time, where he was killed. The commerce of the Hollanders ſuffered prodigiouſly. They refuſed, notwithſtanding, to enter into Cromwell's views, who wanted to eſtabliſh between the two nations a perfect union of governments, privileges, intereſts, and counſels; a chimerical ſyſtem, conceived before

[*m*] May the tranſlator be permitted to ſay, ſhe hopes this honor, however *frivolous* it may appear to other nations, will never be given up by the Engliſh?

the

the commencement of the war, and already rejected by the States. The Protector, at length, ſigned a treaty of peace, and defenſive league. Holland yielded the honor of the flag, and loſt nothing of conſequence.

A. D. 1654. The protector makes peace.

With whatever terror the authority of Cromwell inſpired the Engliſh, his uſurpation excited an almoſt univerſal murmur. This people, ſo jealous of independance, lamented having forged for themſelves chains infinitely more heavy than thoſe from which they had been freed. A parliament, ſummoned by the protector, began their debates by examining the military inſtrument on which his title and his power were eſtabliſhed. Cromwell employed force [*n*] againſt this patriotic zeal; he obliged the parliament to acknowledge his ſupreme authority; and haſtened to diſſolve the aſſembly after the five months preſcribed, which he took for granted ought to be only of twenty-eight days each, according to the method of reckoning for the pay-

Parliament.

[*n*] By placing guards at the door of the houſe of commons, who ſuffered none to enter who did not firſt ſign a recognition of his authority.

ment

ment of the troops. The laws are whatever a tyrant inclines to make them.

The unconquerable pride of Cromwell diſdained to keep meaſures, even with crowned heads. Don Pantaléon La, brother to the ambaſſador of Portugal, having aſſaſſinated an Engliſhman in the midſt of London [o], he ordered him to be arreſted in the ambaſſador's houſe, and, with his accomplices, publicly executed [p]. The court of Liſbon, far from revenging this affront, ſoon after concluded a treaty very advantageous to the Engliſh commerce. The eyes of all Europe were now turned on a power almoſt forgot ſince the reign of Elizabeth. Cromwell, polluted with the blood of his natural ſovereign, ſaw monarchs contending for his friendſhip. He ſought, however, the alliance of the Swede, whoſe victorious arms had reeſtabliſhed the Palatine [q], and who ſhared with the court of France the honor of having given tranquillity to

[o] On the Royal Exchange.
[p] On Tower-hill.
[q] Son to the late elector Frederic, the unfortunate king of Bohemia.

Germany,

Germany, by the famous treaty of Weſtphalia. Cardinal Mazarine, as ſupple, as deſigning, and politic, as his predeceſſor Richelieu had been bold, imperious, and ſanguinary, having a war to ſupport againſt Spain, did not heſitate, not only to pay court to the Engliſh parliament after the death of Charles the firſt, but to employ every means to conciliate the protector's favor. The daughter of Henry the fourth, queen to the dethroned king, was in want of neceſſaries at Paris [r]. Her ſon was obliged to quit France, which afforded him neither preſent convenience, nor future hope. The policy of Mazarine ſubmitted to all the neglects and inſults of Cromwell. They at length concluded a treaty, by which France abandoned Charles, and England joined her againſt Spain.

Cromwell, as Mr. Hume obſerves, extremely neglected the intereſts of his nation, in not maintaining the ba-

[r] Cardinal De Retz, waiting one morning on the queen of England, ſhe informed him, that her daughter, the princeſs Henrietta, afterwards married to the duke of Orleans, brother to Louis the fourteenth, was obliged to lie in bed, for want of a fire to warm her.

lance between these two powerful monarchies, the first of which was growing into a dangerous superiority over the second. But, besides the desire of signalizing his government by some conquest over the enemies of the new world, he was greatly biassed by his zeal for the Protestant religion. He hoped to mitigate the severities practised against the Hugonots: the Spaniards, whom he thought more attached to the pope than the French, appeared to him, for that reason, more worthy of his aversion. The Spanish ambassador saying to him one day, "that the Indian trade, and the inquisition, were his master's two eyes;" *We must*, said he, *put them both out at once.* If probity was always the companion of policy, we should not have seen the court of Madrid, which eagerly hurried to acknowledge the protector, charge as a crime on that of France, the entering into an alliance with this enemy of royalty.

A fleet of thirty sail, under the command of Blake, entered the Mediterranean, where no English squadron had appeared since the crusades; whilst another fleet went to Naval expedition.

carry terror into America. Penn, who commanded the latter, not agreeing with the general [s] of the land forces, their attempt on St. Domingo was unſucceſsful; but they took Jamaica, which the Engliſh have rendered one of the richeſt ſettlements in the univerſe. The Spaniards alſo declared war, and made conſiderable prizes. Blake, in his firſt expedition, rendered himſelf formidable to the piratical ſtates of Africa, and the maritime towns of Italy. The following year, he burnt a Spaniſh fleet in the bay of Santa-Cruz, in the Canaries, in ſpite of the fire of a caſtle, and ſeven forts, which ſeemed ſufficient to have battered his whole ſquadron. Sickneſs obliged him to return to England. He died there, with the reputation of a great man.

Death of Blake.

Though a republican by principle, he had always enjoyed the confidence of Cromwell. *It is ſtill our duty*, ſaid he, *to fight for our country, into whatever hands the government of it may fall.* The ſtrongeſt proof of his merit is, that amidſt ſo many

[s] Venables.

contend-

contending factions, he enjoyed the general eſteem.

If the protector made himſelf feared abroad, his adminiſtration in England was not leſs calculated to maintain his authority. A rigid obſerver of the laws, and of juſtice, he violated them ſeldom, and then only when neceſſity determined againſt eſtabliſhed rules. He had ſtifled an inſurrection of the Royaliſts; but he rejected with indignation the advice given him by ſome of his officers, to devote them to a general maſſacre. The army was faithful to him, notwithſtanding the dangerous enthuſiaſm which reigned there. The militia, maintained and carefully exerciſed, in the different counties, could, at the firſt ſignal, furniſh him with a powerful aſſiſtance. As religion, or rather fanaticiſm, directed the multitude, one of his principal cares was, to bridle the impetuoſity of the Puritans, by gaining their adverſaries, to whom he granted a general toleration, from which the Catholics and Epiſcopalians alone were excluded: and he juſtly congratulated himſelf on having found the only means of

Interior government of Cromwell.

taming this inſolent ſect, who would ſuffer no faith but their own. Attentive to every thing, his ſpies, his intelligence, coſt him, it is ſaid, ſixty thouſand pounds a year. He feared nothing but aſſaſſination; and he found a way to ſecure himſelf from that. A Royaliſt colonel [t] having publiſhed a diſcourſe, exhorting every one to embrace this unworthy method of vengeance, he openly declared, on his ſide, that aſſaſſinations were baſe and odious, and that he never would commence hoſtilities by ſo ſhameful an expedient; but that, if the firſt attempt came from them, he would retaliate to the uttermoſt. He had inſtruments, he ſaid, whom he could employ: and he never would deſiſt, till he had totally exterminated the royal family. This menace, if they had dared to brave it, would have been infallibly executed in its full extent.

A. D. 1657. Parliament. The power of Cromwell was founded only on military force. He ardently deſired to give it the ſeal of the laws; and the glory of his go-

[t] Colonel Titus.

vernment

vernment made him hope, at length, to give legality and firmneſs to his uſurpation. In this view, he aſſembled a parliament, compoſed of members choſen by the three kingdoms. Ireland and Scotland, reduced to the moſt abject ſervitude, named whatever deputies he choſe to recommend. To ſecure a majority, he excluded about an hundred ſuſpected members, and by that means rendered himſelf maſter of the aſſembly. The firſt act of this parliament was, to abrogate the right of Charles Stuart, and his family, to the throne. They afterwards propoſed to give the protector the title of king. After warm debates on a point ſo calculated to flatter him, the greater number of the ſuffrages were for the bill. A committee of parliament waited on Cromwell, and repreſented to him, that the Engliſh conſtitution ſuppoſed the royal authority; that the laws, knowing no protector, except during a minority, had not fixed the extent or limits of his authority: that, to avoid all appearance of arbitrary power, the only means was, to ſubſtitute to a

new title that which the nation had been accuſtomed to reſpect; and that this means was the more practicable, as an expreſs law of Henry the ſeventh, provided for the ſecurity of thoſe who acted in defence of the reigning prince: a certain proof, that legiſlation was rather attached to the form of government, than to the birth-right of the ſupreme magiſtrate. Cromwell extremely reliſhed theſe arguments; his ambition aſpired to the crown; it was offered to him by the repreſentatives of the people: a word would have made him king, without appearing to be ſo by force: he notwithſtanding refuſed. The fear of a revolt in the army, to whom the name of king was odious, the idea of conſpiracies ready to be renewed, the advice of his beſt friends, the generous firmneſs of his ſon-in-law Fleetwood, and of Deſborow, who had married his ſiſter, both of whom determined to reſign their commiſſions if he accepted this offer of the parliament, carried it againſt ambition itſelf. The names of Republic, and of Protector, were preſerved. The parliament preſented to Cromwell

He refuſes.

Cromwell an act, under the title of *humble petition and advice*, by which his power was, in ſome points, enlarged, and in others, reſtrained: they gave him power to name his ſucceſſor, aſſigned him a perpetual revenue, a million a year for the fleet and army, and three hundred thouſand pounds for the civil government; they added the right of forming another houſe, who ſhould exerciſe a part of the functions of the former houſe of peers. This act was received as a fundamental law in the three kingdoms; and Cromwell was again inaugurated in Weſtminſter-hall, with the moſt pompous ceremonies. To compoſe his upper houſe, he took from the lower, ſeveral of his partizans. The majority, from this circumſtance, being againſt him, the commons gave him great vexations; they formed connexions with the male-contents in the army; they threw doubts on the authority of the other houſe. The protector was not of a character to ſuffer theſe attempts: he diſſolved the parliament.

Amongſt ſo many anxieties, his ardent genius did not loſe ſight of the A. D. 1658.

affairs of Europe: united with France againſt Spain, he ſent into the Low Countries a body of ſix thouſand Engliſh, who aſſiſted Turenne to gain the battle of Dunes. They took Dunkirk; and this important place was, as had been agreed, put into the hands of Cromwell. Mazarine, amongſt his particular friends, uſed to call him *a fortunate madman*; but, ſufficiently politic to treat him like a great king, he ſent his nephew, Mancini, with the duke of Crequi; and expreſſed his regret, that he could not pay his reſpects to him in perſon. Notwithſtanding theſe outward honors, the moſt gloomy chagrin conſumed this haughty ſoul. His ſons-in-law, even his daughters, deteſted his uſurpation; the terrors, inſeparable from tyranny, followed him every where: covered with a cuiraſs, loaded with offenſive arms, ſurrounded by a numerous guard, not lying three nights together in the ſame chamber, he ſaw the aſſaſſin's ſteel every moment ready to avenge the death of Charles the firſt: ſo impoſſible is it to find true happineſs in crimes!

Dunkirk put into the hands of Cromwell.

Theſe

These dreadful agitations of mind occaſioned a ſlow fever, which in a ſhort time appeared dangerous. The idea of futurity ſtruck his imagination, and inſpired him with ſome remorſe. He aſked one of his preachers, "If it was true, that the elect could never fall, or ſuffer a final reprobation?" "Nothing more certain," replied the preacher. "Then I am ſafe," ſaid the protector; for I am ſure that once I was in a ſtate of grace." In the belief of this doctrine of the Puritans, the greateſt villain on earth may enjoy the happy tranquillity of the juſt. His chaplains aſſured him, by the recital of their flattering revelations, that there was no doubt of his recovery. Accuſtomed to depend on theſe chimeras, he ſeized them eagerly, as an infallible pledge of what he wiſhed. Self-love ſtrengthened his enthuſiaſm. "I tell you," ſaid he to his phyſicians, who were more clear-ſighted than his prophets, "I ſhall not die of this diſtemper: I am well aſſured of my recovery. It is promiſed by the Lord, not only to my ſupplications, but alſo to that of men who hold a ſtricter commerce and more intimate cor-

His ſickneſs and death.

reſpondence with him. Ye may have ſkill in your profeſſion; but nature can do more than all the phyſicians in the world, and God is far above nature." They even thanked God for his recovery, at the very time when his phyſicians declared there was no hope. The council ſent a deputation, to know his will as to the choice of a ſucceſſor. Scarce was he able to make them underſtand his deſignation, of Richard, his eldeſt ſon. He died, at the age of fifty-nine, on the third of September, a day rendered memorable by the battles of Dunbar and Worceſter, and which he always regarded as particularly fortunate to him [*u*].

Character of Oliver Cromwell.

This extraordinary man, born to a narrow fortune, though of a good family, unable to make any progreſs in

[*u*] Cromwell left only two ſons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters, one married to general Fleetwood, another to lord Falconbridge, a third to lord Rich. His father died when he was young, his mother lived till after he was protector. He was born at Huntingdon, of a good family, though he himſelf, being a ſon of a ſecond brother, inherited but a ſmall eſtate from his father. His mother was of a good family, of the name of Stuart; and, as is ſuppoſed, remotely allied to the royal family.

the

the ſciences, libertine in his youth, bigoted and fanatical after having paſſed ſeveral years in debauchery, reduced by neceſſity to take a farm for his ſubſiſtence, had been unknown till the age of forty-four, when he was choſen member for the town of Cambridge. His courage and military talents, joined to an unbridled fury againſt the royal cauſe, were the foundations of his reputation and fortune. The art of governing the minds of others, of making their prejudices ſerve his own views, of deceiving ſome, inflaming others, and of putting in motion, with as much force as addreſs, all the ſprings of religion and enthuſiaſm, raiſed him in a ſhort time to the height of greatneſs. He was far from being eloquent; a quality ſo neceſſary, one would have ſuppoſed, to the part which we have ſeen him act with ſo much ſucceſs. His diſcourſes are inſipid, confuſed, unintelligible, empty, and often abſurd. But he poſſeſſed, in a ſupreme degree, the knowledge of mankind; and his genius furniſhed him with the means of making them the inſtruments or the victims of his paſſions.

We may, I think, ſay with Father Orleans, that he was leſs a fortunate madman, than a dextrous villain; we ought alſo to confeſs, that he wanted only virtue to be one of the greateſt men the world ever produced.

Richard Cromwell protector.

The council, the fleet, the army, all the different counties, immediately acknowledged Richard Cromwell, protector of the commonwealth. He was a young man, naturally moderate, ſimple and unaffected in his manners, equally mild and indolent, educated in the country at a diſtance from buſineſs and ſtate intrigues; and had neither the inclinations, the habitudes, or talents, proper to replace the uſurper. His firſt care was, to ſummon the parliament, in order to obtain ſubſidies. Though this aſſembly at firſt appeared favorable to the eſtabliſhed government, it ſoon became formidable by entering into dangerous diſcuſſions. But the greateſt evil came from the army. Fleetwood, ſon-in-law to Oliver Cromwell, a fanatical republican, and Lambert, a man of unconquerable ambition, caballed with heat againſt him. They demanded a general who had the confidence

A. D. 1659. Cabal of Walling-ford-houſe.

confidence of all parties; they found fault with Richard's promotions. *Would you have me*, ſaid he one day, *prefer none but the godly? Here is Dick Ingoldſby, who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I truſt him before you all.* The military ſaints never forgave him this imprudent expreſſion. The commons, alarmed at the cabal, voted, that there ſhould be no meeting, or council of officers, without the protector's conſent. The officers haſtened to the protector, and tumultuouſly demanded the diſſolution of the parliament. By having the weakneſs to conſent, he deprived himſelf of all ſupport, and ſoon after was obliged to reſign the government. Henry, his brother, deputy of Ireland, with greater abilities, but as little ambition, alſo reſigned his commiſſion. Thus fell the family of Cromwell. This edifice of greatneſs, conſtructed with ſuch difficulty, and by ſo many crimes, diſappeared almoſt in a moment. Richard travelled through France, ſome years after the re-eſtabliſhment of the monarchy. The prince of Conti, governor of Languedoc, ſaw him at Pezenas,

Pezenas, under a borrowed name. They talked of the late revolution in England. The prince expreſſed the higheſt admiration of the courage and capacity of Oliver Cromwell. "But as for that contemptible fellow, Richard," ſaid he, "what has become of him? How could he be ſuch a blockhead, as to reap no greater benefit from all his father's crimes and ſucceſſes!" Yet this contemptible Richard, lived happy and beloved, in a private ſtation to an extreme old age; and there requires but a ſmall portion of reaſon and philoſophy, to think his fate preferable to the charms of an odious and tumultuary greatneſs.

The Rump.

The military council, ſeeing themſelves in poſſeſſion of the ſupreme power, and not daring to exerciſe it without ſome form of civil adminiſtration, thought of recalling the long parliament, which had dethroned Charles the firſt, and which Cromwell had diſſolved in ſo ignominious a manner. They flattered themſelves with being able to hold it in ſubjection. This aſſembly conſiſted only of about forty perſons. They called

called it, in contempt, the *Rump*. The Preſbyterians and Royaliſts, equally enraged againſt them, united to diſperſe them. The former, in ſpite of their religious prejudices, repented of that exceſs of zeal which had carried them beyond all bounds. They ſaw, that, by puſhing too far the love of liberty, they had fallen into the contrary extreme of ſlavery. They wiſhed, with the others, to reſtore to the royal family a crown which they were not the more happy for having raviſhed from it. The nobles, and the gentry, concurred in the ſame deſign. A general conſpiracy was formed; and if Sir Richard Willis had not betrayed the common intereſt, the event ſeemed almoſt infallible. As ſoon as the parliament were apprized of this deſign, they commiſſioned Lambert to prevent its execution. By his uncommon activity, he ſoon cut off all the reſources of the Royaliſts. Diſcord ſoon took place between the parliament and army. The officers, perceiving they ſought to reduce them, made uſe of the power which was in their hands; and the Rump

was

was diſſolved as eaſily by Lambert, as it had been by Cromwell.

All the hopes of Charles the ſecond now vaniſhed into air. Without reſource on the ſide of his friends, he endeavoured to intereſt foreign powers in his favor. He went to Fontarabia, where Mazarine was negotiating a peace with Spain. The cardinal refuſed even to ſee him. Don Lewis De Haro, the Spaniſh miniſter, treated him with civility, but gave him no aſſiſtance. It was not yet the time when generoſity alone could arm a great king in the cauſe of an unfortunate monarch. The peace of the Pyrenées was concluded, without their even deigning to mention his name. But nothing is more capricious than fortune. This prince paſſed immediately from this abject ſtate to the throne.

Monk declares for the parliament.

The famous general Monk, firſt attached to the party of Charles the firſt, afterwards employed by Cromwell, and at preſent charged with the government of Scotland, had acquired, by his mildneſs, his probity, and other virtues, the love of the ſoldiers, and the confidence of the people.

people. Whether he intended only to oppoſe the ambitious deſigns of Lambert, or that he in ſecret planned the king's reſtoration, he declared in favor of the parliament. His prudence rendered his deſigns impenetrable. Doctor Monk, his brother, being come to make overtures to him from Charles the ſecond; the general aſked him if he had communicated to any body the ſecret of his commiſſion? "To nobody," ſaid he, "except to your chaplain, Price, whom I know to be intirely in your confidence." Price was a zealous Royaliſt, and a man who might be truſted. Monk however changed the diſcourſe, and ſent away his brother, without opening to him his intentions; perſuaded, that, in an affair of ſuch importance, a ſecret confided to a third perſon, is no longer a ſecret.

His prudence.

When it was known that the commander in chief in Scotland had declared for the parliament, ſeveral perſons in England followed his example. Intire regiments revolted againſt the army. Fleetwood, the general, a man as weak as he was enthuſiaſtic,

enthuſiaſtic, ſought in prayer the reſources which his bounded genius denied. He frequently threw himſelf on his knees in the council of war; and when the officers exhorted to vigorous reſolutions, he replied, *That God had ſpit in his face, and would not hear him.* Lambert's deſign in making him general, was to be in effect ſo himſelf under his name. But he was forced to yield to ſuperior force. A part of the troops abandoned him: the parliament, being again aſſembled, ſent orders to the ſoldiers to retire to their quarters. They obeyed, and Lambert was ſoon after ſent to the Tower.

Monk changes the government.

Monk traverſed England at the head of his army. The people ran in crouds to meet him; they conjured him to re-eſtabliſh the government, and to put an end to that dreadful anarchy, which every day increaſed. He appeared at firſt zealous for the Rump; he, by their orders, entered the capital, and ſtruck the utmoſt dread into their enemies. At length, changing his ſyſtem, or rather diſcovering his real deſigns, he reproached the parliament with their tyranny, and joined the

the city of London, in the deſign of putting an end to the miſeries of the public. The people, who attend to no rules of decorum when carried along by their paſſions, ſhewed their joy by burning Rumps in every quarter of the town. The excluded members were invited to take their ſeats in the houſe; the others retired in confuſion; and the aſſembly diſſolved itſelf, after having ſummoned a free parliament, in order to remedy the violences committed by the laſt. This happy event was the fruit of Monk's wiſdom. Inſenſible to all the offers of the factious, he purſued his object with equal prudence and firmneſs; and, without the leaſt effuſion of blood, ſucceeded in changing the face of the kingdom. His intentions in reſpect to the king remained concealed till the very moment when he ſaw himſelf under the neceſſity of diſcovering them. Fearing the Spaniards ſhould detain him, in order to oblige him to reſtore Dunkirk and Jamaica, he exhorted [w] him to leave their terri-

[w] In a verbal meſſage, by Sir John Granville.

tories.

tories. On receiving this advice, the king left Bruſſels abruptly. It is believed, that, had he ſtaid a few hours longer, he would have found himſelf a priſoner.

Reſtoration.

The Engliſh, in general, were ſo thoroughly cured of their prejudices againſt the crown, that the new parliament was filled with members favorable to its cauſe. The rage of the Republicans became only the more lively; and Lambert, who had eſcaped from the Tower, began to raiſe troops. But no time was loſt, to prevent the ſpreading of this flame. Lambert, and the other officers, fell into the hands of the Royaliſts [x]. Whilſt the parliament were deploring the late troubles, and expreſſing the utmoſt horror for the memory of Cromwell, without any one's daring to name the king, Monk cauſed the houſe to be informed, that Granville, who had been ſent by this prince, waited at the door with his diſpatches. The whole aſſembly gave themſelves up to joy; Granville was introduced; he preſented them, from Charles, a letter, and

[x] Commanded by colonel Ingoldſby.

declara-

declaration. The king granted a general amneſty, the exceptions to which were to be named by the parliament; an intire liberty of conſcience, with a promiſe of concurring in whatever the parliament ſhould do to aſcertain it; and an aſſurance of paying the arrears due to the ſoldiers, and continuing to them their preſent pay. Every one was ſatisfied. The late king's conceſſions had ſufficiently limited the prerogative, to leave no ſhadow of anxiety to the moſt zealous partizans of liberty. They proclaimed Charles the ſecond with the accuſtomed ſolemnity. The two houſes, for the peers took their ſeats without moleſtation, aſſiſted at this pompous ceremony. Monk went to receive, at Dover, the prince whom he had the glory to place on the throne. Never was there a revolution more rapid, more advantageous, or leſs violent. So many ills cauſed by diſcord, and civil war, had taught the Engliſh, that a legal government is the only bulwark of liberty, and public happineſs.

Manners. Fanaticiſm.

We have ſeen fanaticiſm light up flames which conſumed the ſtate. This epidemic ſcourge ravaged the three king-

kingdoms. England eſpecially ſwarmed with ſects, infatuated with their reveries, and determined to keep no meaſures in ſupport of their ridiculous errors. The Republicans were the more formidable, as their religious principles inculcated an extreme ſeverity of manners. Nothing contributed more perhaps to their triumphs over the *Cavaliers*, who were generally men of pleaſure, either from their birth and fortune, or becauſe their morality yielded to the general mode of living amongſt their friends; and their hatred to the Puritans poſſibly made them glory in acting in oppoſition to their rigid maxims. "Your friends, the Cavaliers," ſaid a Parliamentarian [*y*] to a Royaliſt, "are very diſſolute and debauched." "Yes," replied the Royaliſt, "they have the infirmities of men: but your friends, the Round-heads, have the vices of devils; tyranny, rebellion, and ſpiritual pride." The Puritans carried their rigid zeal even to the prohibiting of horſe-races, cock-fighting, and bear-baiting, only as they were pleaſures.

[*y*] Sir Philip Warwick.

The

The celebrated ſect of Quakers ought to be diſtinguiſhed in the croud. George Fox, a ſhoe-maker [z], was the founder. Though enthuſiaſts in the higheſt degree, yet, having renounced the uſe of arms, they never played any conſpicuous part on the theatre of the world. The forms of civility appeared to them a ſublunary refinement, unworthy of Chriſtianity. They uſed no expreſſions to others but *thee* and *thou*, ſaluted nobody, and gave no title but that of *friend*, even to perſons of the higheſt rank. Their dreſs was conſonant to their manners; they not only rejected all ſuperfluous ornaments, but even plaits, and buttons, which they judged unneceſſary. To follow the Scripture literally, was their ſyſtem of religion. An oath, even in a court of judicature, appeared to them a blaſphemy. They admitted neither of ſacraments nor ceremonies, neither churches nor prieſthood. Every individual pretended to inſpiration, and prepared for the reception of the Holy Ghoſt. From hence thoſe convulſive tremblings, which procured Quakers.

[z] Born at Drayton in Lancaſhire, in 1624.

them

them the name of Quakers. Theſe fanatics ſometimes broke into the churches, interrupted divine ſervice, and inſulted the miniſters. Condemned to be whipped, to be ſet in the pillory, theſe ſufferings were regarded as triumphs; and their magnanimity and patience appeared ſupernatural in the eyes of the people. Some of them attempted to faſt forty days, in imitation of Jeſus Chriſt. This folly coſt one of them his life. If ſtruck on one cheek, a Quaker immediately turned the other. In ſhort, by carrying every duty to exceſs, they expoſed even their virtues to ridicule. How could the Goſpel, ſo calculated to inſpire all the ſocial virtues, ſerve as a pretext to ſo many fools, and lunatics, to break all the ties of ſociety? Such is the weakneſs of the human mind! by attempting to go out of the general road traced out by the Author of reaſon, it wanders in obſcure and rugged paths, where man is no longer acquainted with himſelf, or his own nature.

Deiſts. Literature.

Theſe various follies contributed greatly to multiply Deiſts, a ſet of daring ſpirits, who, attributing to religion

ligion the abſurdities of fanaticiſm, ſubſtituted to them thoſe of incredulity. Cromwell called them Pagans, though, like them, he laughed at all the ſectaries. Philoſophy was at that time too little cultivated, to ſuffer us to believe it the parent of Deiſm. Hobbes, however, rendered himſelf famous, by productions equally contrary to morals and Chriſtianity. He deſpiſed learning; and ſaid often, "that if he had read as much as other men of letters, he ſhould have been as ignorant as they were." Man, according to him, is wicked by nature; a principle which does not do much honor to this philoſopher. He is alſo reproached with having favored tyranny. Harvey acquired true glory by diſcovering the circulation of the blood, regarded till that time as a chimera, or at leaſt as a fact extremely doubtful. But the moſt illuſtrious genius of England was Milton. A miſerable declaimer when he wrote for the regicides, he riſes, in his *Paradiſe Loſt*, to the higheſt degree of the ſublime. The enormous defects of this poem cannot eclipſe its beauties.

Deiſts. Literature.

What is moſt aſtoniſhing is, that the author compoſed it under the weight of misfortune, poor, blind, deſpiſed: and, that a work which has ſince been read with ſuch admiration in England, ſhould have remained ſo many years unknown in a bookſeller's ſhop [*a*].

[*a*] This author, when in a happy mood, and employed on a noble ſubject, is the moſt wonderfully ſublime of any poet in any language; Homer, and Lucretius, and Taſſo, not excepted. More conciſe than Homer, more ſimple than Taſſo, more nervous than Lucretius; had he lived in a later age, and learned to poliſh ſome rudeneſs in his verſes; had he enjoyed better fortune, and poſſeſſed leiſure to watch the returns of genius in himſelf; he had attained the pinnacle of human perfection, and borne away the palm of Epic poetry.

It is well known, that Milton never enjoyed in his life-time the reputation which he deſerved.—Whitlocke talks of *one Milton*, as he calls him, a blind man, who was employed in tranſlating a treaty with Sweden into Latin. Theſe forms of expreſſion are amuſing to poſterity, who conſider how obſcure Whitlocke himſelf, though lord-keeper and ambaſſador, and indeed a man of great ability and merit, has become in compariſon of Milton. HUME.

This age alſo produced Waller, Cowley, Denham, Harrington, Uſher, Marvel, and other excellent writers. Charles the firſt encouraged

Under the republican government, the taxes amounted, on a medium, to more than two millions a year. The revenue of the kings had never riſen to near that ſum. In 1650, commiſſioners were appointed to levy both cuſtoms and exciſe. But Cromwell returned, in 1657, to the ancient method of farming them; and eleven hundred thouſand pounds were offered for theſe two taxes, which was more than had ever been levied by the commiſſioners. The protector left a debt of two millions, notwithſtanding all his œconomy and vigilance. The republic, in 1652, had on foot an army of more than fifty thouſand men, whoſe ordinary pay was a ſhilling a day for the foot, and two ſhillings and ſix pence the horſe. It is not ſurpriſing, as Mr. Hume obſerves, that the army was averſe to the eſtabliſhment of civil government, by which, they well knew, they muſt be deprived of ſo gainful a pro-

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the elegant arts. He patronized painting, architecture, muſic, in the perſons of Vandyke, Inigo Jones, and Laws.

feſſion. The parliamentary troops, militia and regulars, amounted to eighty thouſand about the time of the battle of Worceſter. Before the civil wars, commerce increaſed greatly under Charles the firſt. The trade to the Eaſt-Indies, and to Guinea, was very beneficial. Seven hundred thouſand pounds ſterling was yearly coined in the Engliſh mint. Twenty thouſand pieces of cloth were yearly ſent to Turkey. The commonwealth reſtored this ſource of riches, interrupted by the civil wars. One of the circumſtances, which principally contributed to make commerce flouriſh, was, that the principles of democracy weakened the prejudices of vanity. They ſaw the children of the country gentlemen apprenticed to merchants. This profeſſion, ſo uſeful to the ſtate, became honorable. The ſame manner of thinking has been preſerved to our days, and the experience of England demonſtrates its advantages. Why ſhould it be more diſhonorable for a gentleman to enrich himſelf by commerce, than to waſte his days in a lazy and miſerable poverty?

The intereſt of money was, in 1650, reduced to ſix *per cent.* We have ſeen it fourteen, before the reign of Elizabeth. This difference proves a great augmentation of ſpecie, and a better-regulated political ſyſtem.

END OF VOL. III.

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